Magnalia Dei ab Aquilone;

SET FORTH,

IN A SERMON

PREACHED BEFORE

The Right Honourable the

LORDS and *COMMONS*,

at St *Margarets Westminster*, upon Thurſday *Iuly* 18, 1644. being the day of publike Thankſgiving for the great Victory obtained againſt Prince *Rupert* and the Earle of *Newcaſtles* Forces neere *YORKE*.

By RICHARD VINES, Miniſter of Gods Word at *Weddington* in the County of *Warwick*, and a Member of the Aſſembly of DIVINES.

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MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

TO THE RIGHT HONOVRABLE
The LORDS *and* COMMONS
Assembled in PARLIAMENT.

Right Honourable and Noble Senatours,

BY this time it is cleere day, even their eyes, whose unwillingnesse to beleeve it made them blind, are now waken; to see that God did indeed put matter of thanksgiving both into our hands and mouthes: To disguise so solemn a duty only to support reputation in the eyes of the world, is no lesse than to put an Irony upon GOD. Thanksgiving is the reply we make to GODS answer of our prayer, of whom if we walke worthy, he will surely make rejoynder of new mercies. Though we

cannot expect but that we may shift our garments and sometimes weare sackcloth, The Lord set our hearts in tune, whether to Lachrymæ *or* Hallelujah; *Beware of that rock which the* Israelites *fell foule upon in their* wilderneſſe condition, *where being at Gods more immediate finding, and having all their entertainment from Heaven, they most of all did then imbitter GOD by their murmurings against and temptations of him; The good Lord command the West to blow as sweet a gale as the North hath done, and so finish his own worke, that unto* Henricus Roſas, Regna Iacobus, *may be added,* Eccleſias Carolus; *So prayeth,*

Your unworthy ſervant
for Chriſt,
RICHARD VINES.

A

SERMON PREACHED

Before the Right Honourable the

LORDS and COMMONS assembled in *Parliament*, upon the 18th day of *July*, 1644. it being the day of Thankesgiving for the great mercy of God in the happy succesſe of the Forces of both Kingdomes against the Enemies of *King* and *Parliament* neere *Yorke*.

ISAIAH 63. 8.

For he ſaid, Surely they are my people, children that will not lie: So he was their Saviour.

WHat the Hiſtorian ſaith of that day, wherein *Scipio* and *Hannibal* diſputed that long depending cauſe, betweene *Rome* and *Carthage* in open field, *The Romane Empire* (untill that time) *had not ſeene a greater day.* The ſame may I juſtly ſay of the occaſion of this our meeting: Nor we nor our fathers

Non fuit major ſub imperio Romano dies. &c. Florus, *lib.* 2. *cap.* 6. *de bello punico ſecundo.*

fathers in this Kingdome: considering the numbers on both sides, the Intereſts that lay at ſtake, the fulneſſe of the victory, the hopefull conſequence of it, have had more cauſe to ſing, *They compaſſed me about like Bees, they are quenched as the fire of thornes: for in the Name of the Lord will I deſtroy them; Thou haſt thruſt ſore at me that I might fall; but the Lord helped me: The Lord is my ſtrength and ſong, and is become my ſalvation. The voice of rejoycing and ſalvation is in the tabernacles of the righteous: the right hand of the Lord doth valiantly. The right hand of the Lord is exalted; the right hand of the Lord doth valiantly,* Pſal.118.12,13,14,15,16,*&c.* for though God have clearely atteſted his preſence with us, by many viſible tokens thereof ever ſince we came into this wilderneſſe, ſo that we may truly ſay, *Take counſell together and it ſhall come to nought; ſpeake the word, and it ſhall not ſtand,* for *Immanuel,* Iſa.8.10. yet he never yet did ſet a broader ſeale to this Cauſe in teſtimony of his patrociny thereof than at this time and place. The firſt Summer of our warre he wrote himſelfe *our God* in great letters at *Edge Hill*; The ſecond, in yet a greater character at *Newbery*; The third, that he might be legible to ſuch as hitherto would not ſee; he hath wrote himſelfe *Immanuel* in a Text letter, even in that place where that which hath ſince proclaimed it ſelfe a cruell warre, did then, in its infancy, diſguiſe it ſelfe under the name of *Guard*, a good *Omen*; *Hannibal* is routed neere the wals of his own *Carthage*: There can be to us no better ſigne than when God increaſes upon us and ſtill makes us better meaſure of his mercies than aforetime. *New mercies* from him are the matter of a *new ſong* to us, and of a

new

new name to himſelfe, ſo let him ſwallow up the leſſer characters of his godneſſe to us, in ſtill a greater letter; untill the *Egyptians* ſee and ſay, *Let us flee from the face of Iſrael, for the Lord fights for them againſt the Egyptians, Exod.* 14.25.

I ſhall not ſtand to rip aſunder the texture of the whole Chapter, the beginning of it is taken up in a dialogue between the Church and Chriſt: *Who is this* (ſaith ſhe) *that commeth from* Edom *with dyed garments from* Bozrah? *It is I* (ſaith he) *that ſpeake in righteouſneſſe, mighty to ſave. Wherefore* (ſaith ſhe) *art thou red in thine apparell, and thy garments like him that treads in the wine fat?* I have (ſaith he) trodden downe my enemies, and ſo have ſtained my garments with their bloud, as theirs with the bloud of grapes that tread the wine-preſſe: And becauſe a third queſtion might have beene asked, what partners hadſt thou in the worke? he anticipates in the 5. verſ. *I looked and there was none to helpe, and I wondered that there was none to uphold; Therefore mine own arme brought ſalvation unto me, and my fury it upheld me, and I will tread downe the people in my anger,* &c. How little? how nothing? doth the Church contribute to her own deliverance of ſalvation? She hath nothing to doe, but like *Iſrael, to ſtand ſtill and ſee the ſalvation of the Lord,* and afterwards to ſing and follow the Lords hand with acclamations; therefore ſhe breakes forth verſ. 7. into theſe words, *I will mention the loving kindneſſes of the Lord, the praiſes of the Lord according to all that the Lord hath beſtowed on us, &c.* Exod. 14.13. with cap. 15. ver. 1. &c.

Now as a good Hiſtorian doth not relate meere and naked matters of fact, but the reaſons and conſidera-

tions moving so or so, with the effects and resultances; so the Church surveying the loving kindnesses of the Lord, even from the times of *Egypt* and of the wildernesse (which was the great letter wherein the Alphabet of his remarkable mercies to that Nation did begin,) suggests in the words of my text, the considerations upon which God proceeded to be their Saviour: *For he said, surely they are my people, children that will not lie: so he was their Saviour,*

The words have no great knot in them; that expression, *Children that will not lie,* requires a little light, *mentiri Hebraicè est & dicti & facti:* The Hebrewes call lying not only in words, but deeds; verball lying I shall not insist upon, for though the Papist under-prop his Religion as the enemy doth his cause with legends of these *pious fraudes*, yet lying is a trade that will breake both the first merchant thereof, and the broker, and the credulous buyer or receiver; they cannot keep open shop long, lying Bonefires will not blaze long, lying Bells will be presently in the changes; though truth may lose ground at the start, yet it ever wins at last.

Mercer. in Gen. 21. 23.

The text speakes of lying in deed or fact, when a man doth *fallere fidem datam*, breake his covenant, deale perfidiously with God, for that is the proper notion of lying in fact; to breake through and violate ingagements, to be unfaithfull, to deale falsely; so the word is used, *Gen.* 21. 23. *Sweare to me that thou wilt not* lie *or deale falsely.* Psal. 44. 17. *All this is come upon us, yet have we not forgotten thee, neither have we* lyed *or dealt falsely in thy covenant,* Psal. 89. 33. *I will not suffer* (saith God) *my faithfulnesse to* lie *or fayle, my covenant will I*

not

not breake, nor alter the thing that is gone out of my lips: and so you shall find (though the word in the fountaine be not שקר as it is in the text,) *Psal.* 18.47. that feigned subjection or obedience to God or men is called *lying*; *The strangers shall* lie *unto me*, or dissemble their submission; in which notion the word is also used, *Deut.* 33.29. *Thine enemmes shall be found lyars unto thee*, that is, they shall not dare but to be subject, though their hearts be rotten; and to conclude, *Hab.* 3. 17. *The labour of the olive shall lie*, that is, faile or frustrate expectation; so that it cannot rest in doubt what should be meant by *children that will not lie*, that is, they are my people that will not shrinke (as one of our *English* translations doth well turne the Latine, *filij non negantes*) they will keep touch with me, and will answer their covenant-ingagements.

כחש Is the word used Psa. 18.47, &c.

M. Coverdales Translation.

The words hold forth unto you three things;

That God, in the experience, and by the confession of his people was their Saviour: *He was their Saviour.* 1.

The consideration which he had, and the account which he gave to himselfe of them; *He said they are my people, children that will not lie.* 2.

The connexion of these two together; so he said of them, and so he was to them; *So he was their Saviour.* 3.

For the right apprehension of the sense of the words, you are to take them as a *prosopopeie*, conceived in way of imitation of *men*, that as a father in debate within himselfe what he should doe concerning a lewde and disobedient son, saith, his courses are loose and vicious, his disposition illiberall, his carriages towards me undutifull, but he now falls

Sanctius in loc.

at my feet, laments his exorbitancies, obliges himselfe to returne *ad bonam frugem*, what shall I conclude? why notwithstanding all this, he is my child, *parentes nil non sperant de filijs*, he will now keep promise, I will be a father to him; So God is conceived of in this text, as being in consultation with himselfe about *Israel*, and the word *surely* or *notwithstanding*, implies that he could lay much rebellion, many relapses to their charge, and yet on the other side considers, They bewaile their evill wayes, they renew their covenants with me, they put upon themselves new ingagements to be mine; Ile trust them, surely they will not lie, nor shrinke; how doth the love of God to his people preponderate all their miscarriages? how inclineable is he to conceive hopes of them? for though he can alledge enough against them to justifie his desertion of them, yet he buries in forgetfulnesse that which is past upon hopes of better for time to come: and this expectation which he hath of them, gives a *non obstante* to all their former provocations and iniquities, and casts the skales with him to be their Saviour. *They will not lie: So he was their Saviour.*

The Observations that I shall take up at this time follow in their order:

Observ. 1. *God could have drawne up such a charge against his people to whom he was a Saviour, as might have justified him to all the world, if he had refused them.* I gather this from the first words he said; *He said, surely*, or (as it elsewhere is translated) *notwithstanding:* when one begins a speech with a *notwithstanding*, he leaves it to your conception to imagine all that was in his mind which never broke forth; and it carries it cleere enough, that

God

God broke through all the considerations of their rebellion, apostasie, unworthinesse, when he said, *Surely they are my people:* and the like forme of speech carries the same implication, *Matth.*21.37. *Last of all, he sent unto them his son, saying, They will reverence my son,* as if he had said, They have hitherto killed my servants one after another, but they will reverence my son: Observe the connexion of the former verse with my text, *I will mention the loving kindnesses of the Lord, the praises of the Lord: for he said,* yet *they are my people,* that is, when he might have said so much against them as to have deserted them, and given them up to destruction: then he said, *yet they are my people.* It's good for us to observe what God might lay in charge against us, even then when he crownes us with his favour, or we proclaime his prayses: for nothing gives a better foyle to mercy, nothing sets such an edge upon thanksgivings, nothing sets the strings in sweeter tune for praises, than for us to consider and compare our remotenesse from expectation of any Salvation, *Make a man first humble, and you make him thankfull.* He that first can justifie God will the more easily and freely glorifie him. We find not in the Pharisee his *God I thanke thee,* any self-condemning or God-justifying expressions: Our Saviour observes that that Leper who (of ten healed) came onely back to give glory to God, was a Samaritane. *This stranger,* saith he, *Luke* 7.16,18. Let us set our nationall sinnes before our eyes this day; when we come with our peace-offerings for publike mercies, these sowre herbes will quicken our palate to the reliſh of this Passeover, for it is a Passeover indeed, God having made the destroying

ing Angel to paſſe over the houſes of his people, and led the ſtroke to find out them that would keep us ſtill in Egypt, after God cals us out; And to let paſſe all thoſe provocations of God by this nation for ſo many yeares of reſt. Let us but looke upon the face of our wilderneſſe ſinnes (as I may call them) and what were Iſraels wilderneſſe-ſins? murmuring againſt God, complaining of his dealing with them, diſlike of his Covenant, contempt of his Promiſes, returning in heart into Egypt. And are not our carcaſſes as worthy to fall in the wilderneſſe as theirs did? for it was not for their Egypt-ſinnes, but for the wilderneſſe ſinnes, when they were in paſſage to the promiſed Land, that God ſware in his wrath
Heb. 3. 10, 11. againſt them, that they ſhould not enter into his reſt. Have we not cauſe to tremble leſt God ſhould enter the *caveat* of ſuch an oath againſt us for the ſins we are guilty of in this our paſſage. What bitter complaints of, and murmurings at, Gods dealing with us? What mutinies againſt our leaders? what evill reports are brought up of the Reformation intended? what luſting after the former fleſh-pots? what calling for Captaines to lead us back again into bondage? what dancing before the golden calves of new opinions and wayes of our owne erection? and yet God is our Saviour with a *non obſtante* to every of theſe miſcarriages: *Let us rejoyce with trembling*, and be broken into thankſgivings. In our receiving of ſuch high grace and favour, we muſt look to two things:

1. The reliſh of the mercy beſtowed, which is quickned by ſenſe of our unworthineſſe.

2. The diſgeſtion of it into thankſgivings, praiſes, and obedience.

In

In relishing of a mercy a man either lookes upon it as a *benefit*, and so he gives thankes to God as the *benefactour*; or as it is a fruit of prayer, and as it is the workmanship of God in which he is seen in wisdome, power, presence, goodnesse, and so he praises God as the *workman*: for that is the difference betweene thanksgiving and praise, the one looks at the benefit, the other at the workmanship of God in it. If one give you a watch or curious piece, the benefactour hath the thanks, the workman hath the praise. There are mo thanksgivers, than praisers of God, because though many taste the benefit, yet few taste or see God in it.

And for the digestion of a mercy bestowed, it is much according to the relish of it. He that relishes onely his owne interest or good in it, turnes it oftentimes into matter of self-glory, security, &c. but he that sees God in it, *The joy of the Lord is his strength*, to make returne of praise and service to God again.

Gods people will not lie or faile God of his expectation that he hath of them. The Text puts these two as ἰσοδυναμοῦντα, one and the same, *They are my people, Children that will not lie.* God saith of himselfe that he cannot lie: of his people that they will not. The reason is, because they follow and adhere to him and his Cause upon true principles, and not selfe interests and ends; a man may advance very farre and doe valiantly upon private interest and ends. He may run swiftly and smoothly, but he alwayes fals towards and rests upon his byas. The mixt multitude that goe out with Israel will fall to lusting. We have seen the end of such blazing and falling starres, who after they have deceived us awhile have been resolved into their elements *Observ.2.*

of earth and selfe respects; but a man that is carried by true Principles though the compasse may through infirmitie or temptation sometimes admit variation or wavering, yet it recollects it selfe and will point to the true pole, what waves or winds soever beat against the ship wherein he is.

Observ.3. The Church gives unto God alone the title of a Saviour, *He was their Saviour*. But are there not saviours besides him? *Saviours shall come up on mount Sion to judge the mount of Esau*, Obad. *ver. ult. When they cryed unto thee, thou gavest them saviours, who saved them out of the hand of their enemies*, *Nehem.* 9.27. As the Scripture cals Magistrates *Gods*, so it cals the *vindices* or Judges which he raised up to Israel, Saviours: but as those are but *dii minorum gentium*, Gods by participation of some sparke of his image and authority: so are these but *subsaviours*, instrumentall actours so farre as they are acted by God, the glory of an instrument is none, but what redounds to the workman that made it, or useth it. *Cicero* taxes *Verres* for that he found him at *Syracuse* written σωτῆρα a saviour. *Hoc quantum est*, saith he, this is so great a stile as cannot be expresst in one Latine word. The word Saviour hath no plurall number in an univocall sense. *Hos.*13.4. *Thou shalt have no God but me, for there is no Saviour besides me.*

I will not common-place this point. This day is text enough to prove the truth of it. Let us make particular use thereof. 1. To acknowledge God alone The Saviour. 2. To rejoyce in him. 3. To render to him as to a Saviour.

1. To acknowledge him, whose finger, doe I say, or arme

arme rather was made bare in this buſineſſe. Remove the thick wood of men, the ſo many thouſands out of your eye, that you may ſee God; I know we have (as he ſaid) *prodigia & miracula humana*, prodigies of men for valour; we have ſeene the chiefe Commander in fight, to be (as was ſaid of *Cæſar*) *medius inter imperatorem & militem*, betweene a commander and a common ſouldie. But who teaches their hands to warre and fingers to fight? The more of God we ſee in them, the leſſe of them let us ſee in themſelves. And becauſe the word *Saviour* will carry it both to deliverance and victory.

1. Let us ſee God in the deliverance. What might we have loſt by this battell? Might not the Religion, Liberties, Happineſſe of two Kingdomes have beene ſhaken? would not the enemy have been heightened (if yet there be any degrees of aſcent left) unto ſuch inſolency and cruelty, that as was ſaid of *Tarquin*, *Vel ipſam ſævitiam fatigaſſet*, he would have tyred out cruelty it ſelf? Would it not have been the greateſt crime to have been godly? ſhould not every *Ariſtides* have taſted of their oſtraciſme, at the leaſt, for no other reaſon than *quia nimium juſtus*, He is too good? and if any have more cauſe to conſider this, than others, they are thoſe that have more of Chriſt in them, than others; to whom *England* and *Scotland* both might have been another *Ireland*. I cannot expreſſe the conſequence. God denyed the premiſes or antecedent, who is our *Deus liberator*, He hath delivered, He doth deliver, and we truſt alſo that he will deliver; He hath delivered from plots, from ſtratagems of dilatory and deluſory peace. He doth deliver from the ſword of a

furious enemy; and we pray that He will deliver the King unto his loyall Parliament and people.

2. Let us acknowledge God in the victory. How long did we lie against a strong City, untill God sent a great army to surrender it up into our hands. It was releeved that it might be emptyed; that *York* might be carried out into the field, and taken there. *Who so is wise and will observe those things, even they shall understand the loving kindnesse of the Lord*, Psal. 107. 43. Did not the enemy flesht with that successe follow us, and seeke us out? for so God will have it. At *Edge-hill*, *Newbery* and *Yorke* we shall be defendants: was not there some inclination of the battle at the first against us, and some trepidation in divers of our men? Is this to be ascribed to the dubiousnesse and uncertainty of warre? for so *Homer* cals *Mars*, ἄλλο προσαλλὸν *an up and downe*, or rather did not God take off some of *Gideons* souldiers? *They are too many* (saith he) *for me to give the Midianites into their hands*, Judg. 7. 2. We have alwaies hitherto found it in experience in all our battles that God removes men from standing in his light, and obscures us the more to shew himselfe: doe we need this art of God to take off our pride and self-confidence? or doth God in goodnesse to us delight to sweeten our victories, because gotten by his own hand, and will not doe us so much hurt, as to let us be our own saviours? some use there is to be made of it, that God in no battell, as yet, would suffer men to hide him from us: and blessed be his Name: for the sight of him in a victory, doth us more good than the victory it selfe; And yet further to winde up the strings of your praises, see the spirits of the enemy which God hath given into your hands;

Iliad. E.

hands; and God hath ſhowen you their ſpirits in their colours. There is a ſword reacht from a cloud with *Fiat juſtitia*; its well no higher hand reacht out that ſword unto them. The Oracle with which he conſulted that deviſed that motto, *Fiat juſtitia*, was too cunning for him; as it was for *Cræſus* when it ſaid, (*magnam pervertet opum vim*) that he ſhould overthrow a world of wealth, for it was indeed his owne he loſt, and ſo it pleaſed God the tables ſhould be turned and the motto ſhould become ours, and that it ſhould be ſent up to you to whom it belongs, as a memorandum, *Fiat juſtitia*. The Crowne and Miter under it, ſhewes alſo that they hold the old principle, No Biſhop, no King, that is the loweſt interpretation it can beare: It is to be feared that the Miter might in time have crept higher, for it is an aſpiring thing, and the motto ſeemes to joyne the Crowne and Miter in equipage, *Nolite tangere Chriſtos meos*; As for the Crowne let mercy and truth be the ſupporters of it for ever, *Prov.* 20. 28. but for Miters (if Hiſtories lie not) we may ſay of them, as it is ſaid of ſome trees that grow not kindly in vicinity to each other; the Crowne hath never flouriſhed that hath growne too neere the Miter: There is a ſword alſo in one hand threatens to vnty a knot in an other; haply they meane the Covenant of the Kingdomes: but that which is more ſtrange is, that this knot did ungird that ſword: And finally that they may ſhew their vile eſteeme of you; they call ſome of you, in a picture, Doggs barking at a Lion, and in the motto they call you Catilines, for that is the Engliſh of *quouſq; tandem abutêre patientia noſtra*, which might have been a proper device, if in the

Lions place at which we barke not, they had ſet the Fox or the Wolfe and had owned their own character; And is this the feſtivity of their wit or the rage of their ſpirits? whatſoever it be, God hath given them check; for though upon confidence of ſucceſſe they did antedate their bells and bonefires, yet in a few howres there was nothing of them left in the field, but bag and baggage, ammunition, Ordnance, priſoners, dead carcaſſes; which had been more, if a noble Commander the honour of the field he treads upon, had not taken up that ſweet word which *Cæſar* ſometimes uſed, *parce civibus*, ſpare the deluded countreymen.

2. To rejoyce in the Lord the God of our ſalvation; The *Romanes* allowed no triumphs to civill warres, for they make the deepeſt wounds, *alta ſedent civilis vulnera dextræ*; And haply you will ſay, that *Janus* temple is not yet ſhut, the ſword is ſtill waken, and we know not for how long a time the commiſſion that God hath given to it is yet in force; we want our *David* alſo to endite ſongs to the chiefe muſitians, and it muſt be confeſſed, that there yet remaines that which lames our joy and breakes a wing of it that it can but flutter and not fly high: we know not how many heads of this *Hydra* will yet repullulate; when warre is once let looſe, it is like the winds which Poets feigne that one had in a bagge, the mouth whereof being opened, *una eurusq; notusq; ruunt*, they ruſht all forth and could never be gotten into the bagge againe: but God is the God of Hoſts, and the battell is not yours but Gods, and if he give *Moſes* and *Iſrael* a ſong, let them ſing though they have yet a great and terrible wilderneſſe

wilderneſſe to paſſe through, where if we can hardly tread beſide ſerpents that ſting mortally, *&c.* yet alſo we have a cloud that covers us, an Angell of Gods preſence that ſaves us, a rock that gives us water, and which is above all, a Tabernacle of his worſhip: therefore let us rejoyce even in this our wilderneſſe.

If there be yet any that think we diſguiſe and lie our ſelves into ſinfull and blaſphemous thankſgivings, (for the *Oxford* bells ſtill ring in ſome mens eares) let them conſider what a remarkable poſtſcript God hath added for confirmation of this victory in the ſurrendry of *Yorke*; and if they be not ſo farre out of taſt, as to account it a judgement and a miſery, let them alſo rejoyce with us; for how doth he differ that is hardned under ten mercies, from him that was hardned under ten plagues?

Let us all thinke of rendring unto God: every man aske, *Quid retribuam?* the hundreth and ſixteenth *Pſalme* ſets unto us a full copy: Take heed of pride which uſually attends the receipt of benefits; and ſuch pride brewes a new cloud, 2 *Chron.* 32. 25. Hezekiah *renderd not againe according to the benefit done unto him, for his heart was lifted up, therefore there was wrath upon him, and upon Iudah and Ieruſalem.* The *Roman* Commander upon ſome appearance of the gods for his helpe in battell, built a Temple to them, *& reddidit commilitonibus deis ſtipendium.* God muſt have a ſhare out of this victory; Every mercy puts us further into debt to him, and puts upon us new obligations: The beſt rule to be obſerved herein, is, to pay unto him no leſſe in our thankſgivings, then we bad him in our faſtings and humiliations: 3.

we

we are apt to be liberall in vowes, and penurious in performance: and how then shall we acquit our selves from being *lying children? He is my God* (saith *Moses* and *Israel*) *and I will prepare him an habitation*, Exod. 15.2. which ingagement they did afterwards make good in laying out their bracelets, eare-rings, rings, tablets, all jewels of gold, *&c.* for the making and service of the tabernacle, *Exod.* 35.21,22,&c.

Observ. 4. The fourth and the last point which brings up the rere, is the very *aliquid* of the text, arising from the connexion of the parts of it by the binding beame *so*, so he was their Saviour.

God promises to himselfe that his people will not shrink from him or deale falsely with him. So hee is their Saviour: for he speakes *more humano*, surely they are children that will not lie, and so he is their Saviour.

The summe of that which Gods expects in this saying, *They will not lie*, is.

1. They will not violate their covenant, or play fast and loose with me, they will not hereafter say I was forced to it, the storme drove me unto it as an harbour: I enter'd it with a side-wind will and affection. There is no doubt but the prosperous successe of our Armies will make many *Samaritans* to be *Iewes*, and many will stand under the tree for shelter in a storme, who would willingly afterward cut it downe; if your heart be not right with God you will never be stedfast in his covenant, *Psal.* 78.37. The stone of witnesse which we set up in this place will be our accuser for ever: If we prevaricate with God by eluding the covenant which we swore in the hearing thereof.

If

That they will not adulterate his worſhip, in which God is punctuall and exact; for if the Arke be but ſet upon a Cart, which ſhould be carried by the Prieſts, there is a breach; becauſe the due order is not kept: It's a very dangerous kind of lying to vitiate the worſhip of God, which for the eſſentials thereof conſiſts (as I may ſay) *in indiviſibili: Thou ſhalt not adde* (ſaith he) *nor diminiſh.* It is obſerved that even when the Morall Law was comming downe to *Iſrael*, they broke out into open impiety in the golden Calfe; and ſo in the beginning of the Prieſts adminiſtration, they tranſgreſſed in offering ſtrange fire; corruptions may grow up in time, but let us not like *Ieroboam*, begin with a lie. 2. 1 Chro. 15. 13. Exod. 32. Lev. 10. 1.

That they will not belie their profeſſion, but anſwer it with the power of godlineſſe: how unſuitable is it, to be a reformed Church and remaine deformed Chriſtians? God expects a reformation of our private, and an entertainement of godlineſſe into our hearts, or elſe you may be like the *Iſraelites*, that had all things according to the patterne, themſelves being a hard-hearted rebellious people. This particular practicall godlineſſe, I doe humbly commend to you the *Nobility and Gentry*, for our Reformation ſhould begin *à majoritis* (as he ſaid,) bring the knowledge of God and his wayes into your ſoules, families, retinues, places of command; *be godly as poore men*; It is *terminus diminuens*, an expreſſion ſavouring of diminution, when men ſay, he is religious for a Noble-man, he is godly after the rate of a great Gentleman; Not that I upbraid you, for I hope God hath 3.

as great a harveſt in that kind of come in this land as in any other field, but I put you in mind of it this day.

Applic. This point calls upon you to reflect upon your ſelves, and conſider what an ingagement is put upon you: I ſay not ſo much by the victory God hath given you, as by that which God promiſeth himſelfe of you, for might not his being your Saviour ariſe from this expectation, *they are children that will not lie*; ſay then;

If promiſes of great things ſhould ſingle out ſome of you that are our corner ſtones; promiſes that (as *Mariana* ſaith) would even fell downe the Cedars of *Lebanon*, would you not faile but ſtand impregnable? The way that *Lewis* the eleventh tooke, was to ſingle out the *proceres* by gifts and indulgences, that he might (as *Commines* ſaith) the eaſilier doe what he would with the leſſer ſhrubs, *the commons*, and by that meanes he ſued out his livery; and as himſelfe expreſt it, he delivered the *French* Kings from their wardſhip: you have read what God offer'd *Moſes*, Exod. 32. 10. *Let me alone that I may conſume them, and ile make of thee a great nation*, which condition *Moſes* accepted not; he would not be hyred for a private intereſt to deſert his place and duty.

If ſuch a revolution of things ſhould be, as that the enemy whom GOD hath ſlighted this day, ſhould knit his parts together againe, and reinforce himſelfe and proſper, and come into the *fauces* of this City and take *Ianiculum* (as I may ſay) would you not lie, nor faile your ingagements? nor cry out of Parliament and Covenant? nor bleſſe your neu-

trality

trality and malignity, becauſe by them you are reconcileable?

If ſucceſſe ſhine upon you, and the Lord goe yet before you, untill he bring you out of this wilderneſſe, will you not endeavour to goe leſſe than you bad him at firſt? and being landed on the ſhore, forget what you ſaid in the ſtorme; like them of whom it is ſaid, Pſalm.78.34. *When he ſlew them, then they ſought him, and they returned and inquired early after God; and they remembred that God was their rock, and the high God their redeemer: Neverthelesſe they did flatter him with their mouth, they lied unto him with their tongues.*

If the way of God ſhould upon diſcovery prove hard and incompliant with ſome politick conſiderations, intereſts, ends, would you then hew and pare the wood to the rule, or the rule to the wood, or make abatement on both ſides? I doe but propound to you for ſelfe examination, for I have no doubt but that if the gate as now it is be too little to take in the whole truth, you will rather breake downe a piece of the wall then leave out any part thereof; you know that *Ieroboams* interweaving too much policie into his conſtitution proved fatall to his Kingdome.

If when the Lions skinne will not ſerve, the Foxes skinne be taken, and there be ſet on foot ſome faire overtures of ſweet-peace, (to whoſe Temple we deſire to goe through the Temple of Truth) which you might purchaſe upon rebate, will you be like the plaine countryman reaſoning with a Sophiſter, who cannot be taken in a fallacie by him, becauſe *he holds*

the concluſion, let the Schollers premiſes be what they will? Let your hearts be right with God and he will ever be your Saviour. Which that they may be, I beſeech you;

1. Keepe conſtant watch againſt private ends; and you our Noble Senators, move all in a body, and let there be no planetary motion of any in particular, turne upon an axeltree which hath theſe two poles, *Religio vera & una*, and *ſalus populi ſuprema lex*: Sincerity is the mother of conſtancy, *meum & tuum* are the worſt byas that can be in men of publike place; private ends muſt of neceſſity divide you among your ſelves, retard the common worke that is under your hand, diſhonour you both before God and men: And ſo for you that are Officers and Commanders in this warre, carry you no private aimes to ſerve upon the publike armes; It is no time to ſeeke vineyards and olive-yards, blow not the coales to keepe warre alive for a trade to get by; was not he a famous Dictator of *Rome* that was fetcht from the plow, routed the enemy, and returned to his plow againe? I feare many of ours are not of his temper.

2. Take heed leſt ſucceſſe breed diſeaſes in you, and that in great Commanders, whoſe hand was in the atchievement, is pride and ſelfe-glory, which is a corruption we hardly put off, untill we put on our winding-ſheet; and in others that had no ſhare in the action, it is æmulation and envy; yea though both did valiantly, yet if *Saul* be but his thouſands and *David* his ten thouſands, there growes a core upon it: It makes many an impotent ſpirit ſullen when he lookes

lookes upon another mans trophie or triumph. The Lord lay this evill ſpirit when it ariſeth; doe we conquer for our ſelves or for the publike? muſt no ſtarre ſhine beſides our ſelves? Let God have all the glory from you all, and then you will have nothing to æmulate in one another; and it is worthy our acknowledgement unto God, who lets not looſe this evill ſpirit betweene the two Nations, but that they are equally earneſt to heape all the glory upon God; which is the only way to kill æmulations and points of honour, which would ſooner untie the knot than the enemies ſword.

Finally, Let all men fortifie their hearts againſt the evills that follow good ſucceſſe, that wee be not made more looſe in our Covenant than before, for we have reaſon to account this day to be the fruit of our entring and holding faſt unto that: I ſay this day which ſhewes you the two Nations formerly *two,* now made one in a Covenant, in the field together, in a victory together, and in a pulpit together, paying unto God his praiſes, and ſo let them be for ever, *one Iudah yet ruling with God, and faithfull with the Saints.* Hoſe. 11. 12.

FINIS.

Die Veneris 19. Julij 1644.

ORdered by the *Lords* in PARLIAMENT Aſſembled, That Mr *Vines* hath hereby thanks given him by this Houſe for the great paines he hath tooke in his Sermon preached before the *Lords* and *Commons* on Thurſday the Eighteenth of this inſtant *July*, in *Margarets* Church *Weſtminſter*, it being the day of Thankſgiving for the great mercy of God in the happy ſucceſſe of the Forces of both Kingdomes againſt the Enemies of *King* and *Parliament* neere *Yorke*; And that the ſaid Mr *Vines* be intreated to Print and publiſh his ſaid Sermon, which no man is to preſume to Print or reprint without his authority under his hand, as he will anſwer the contrary to this Houſe.

Jo. Browne, *Cler. Parliamentorum.*

Die Veneris 19. Julij 1644.

IT is this day Ordered by the *Commons* aſſembled in PARLIAMENT, That Sir *Robert Harley* doe give the thanks of this Houſe to Mr *Vines* for the great paines he tooke in the Sermon he preached at the intreaty of both Houſes, at S. *Margarets Weſtminſter*, upon the day of publike Thankſgiving for the great Victory obtained againſt Prince *Rupert* and the Earle of *Newcaſtles* Forces, and he is deſired to publiſh it in Print.

H. Elſynge, *Cler. Parl. D. Com.*

I appoint *Abel Roper* to print my Sermon.
RI. VINES.

A 2

SERMON

PREACHED BEFORE

the Right Honorable the

LORDS And *COMMONS*

Assembled in

PARLIAMENT:

At *Margarets* Church in Westminster, upon *Thursday* the 18. day of *July*, 1644.

It being the day of Publick Thanksgiving for the great mercie of God in the happie Successe of the Forces of both Kingdoms neer *York*, against the Enemies of *King* and *Parliament*.

By *Alexander Henderson* Minister at *Edinburgh*.

Job 34. 29.

When he giveth quietnesse, who then can make trouble? And when he hideth his face, who then can behold him? whether it be done against a Nation, or against a man onely.

Published by Order of both Houses.

LONDON:

Printed for *Robert Bostock*, dwelling in *Paules* Church-yard, at the signe of the Kings Head. 1644.

Die Veneris, 19. *Julii*. 1644.

ORdered by the *Lords* in Parliament assembled, That Mr. *Henderson* hath hereby thanks given him by this House, for the great pains he took in his Sermon preached before the Lords and Commons, on Thursday the eighteenth of this instant *July*, in *Margarets* Church Westminster, it being the day of Thanksgiving for the great Mercie of God in the happie successe of the Forces of both Kingdoms, against the Enemies of King and Parliament, neer York: And that the said Mr. *Henderson* be entreated to Print, and publish his said Sermon; which no man is to presume to Print, or Re-print, without his Authoritie under his hand, as he will answer the contrary to this House.

Jo. Brown, Cler. Parliament.

BRITISH MUSEUM

Die Veneris. 19. *Julii*. 1644.

IT is this day Ordered by the Commons assembled in Parliament, That Sir *Robert Harley* do give the thanks of this House to Mr. *Henderson*, for the great pains he took in the Sermon he preached at the intreatie of both Houses at St. *Margarets* Westminster, upon the day of publique Thanksgiving, for the great Victory obtained against Prince *Rupert*, and the Earl of Newcastles Forces: and he is desired to publish it in Print.

H. Elsyng, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

I appoint *Robert Bostock* to Print this Sermon.

Alex. Henderson.

A Catalogue of the Names of thoſe Divines, who have Preached before the *Parliament*, beginning *Ian.* 18. 1644. to *July* 18. 1644.

At a Thankſgiving before the *Parliament* and *City* of *London*.

Jan. 18. —— Mr. *Marſhall.* 1 Chron. 12. 38, 39, 40.

Jan. 31. —— Mr. *Cawdrey.* Prov. 29. 8.
Mr. *Rutherfurd.* Dan. 6. 26.

Febr. 28. —— Mr. *Baylie.* Zach. 3. 1, 2.
Mr. *Young.* Pſal. 31. 24.

Mar. 27. —— Mr. *Gilleſpie.* Ezek. 43. 11.
Mr. *Bond.* Iſa. 45. 15.

At a Thankſgiving for the Victory over Sir *R. Hoptons* Army.

Apr. 9. —— Mr. *Ob. Sedgwick.* Pſal. 3. 8.
Mr. *Caſe.* Dan. 11. 32.

At the Thankſgiving for the Victory at *Selby* in *Yorkeſhire*.

Apr. 23. —— Mr. *Perne. Exod.* 34. 6. not printed.
Mr. *Carryl.* Rev. 11. 16, 17.

Apr. 24. —— Dr. *Staunton.* Deut. 32. 31.
Mr. *Green.* Neh. 1. 3, 4.

May 29. —— Dr. *Smith.* Pſal. 107. 6.
Mr. *Henry Hall.* Matth. 11. 12.

June 26. —— Mr. *Hardwick.* Pſal. 126. 5, 6,
Mr. *Hickes.* Iſa. 28. 5, 6.

At the Thankſgiving for the Victorie over Prince *Rupert*, and the ſurrender of *York*.

July 18. —— Mr. *Vines.* Iſa. 63. 8.
Mr. *Henderſon.* Matth. 14. 21.

Errata.

Page 1. line 3, for of, r. in. p. 6 l. 8 for in, r for. p. 7 l. 27, r. a time. p. 11. marg. 16. p. 15 l. 12. for he, r. it. p. 21. l. 4. for thus, r. the.

To the KIRKE and KINGDOME of SCOTLAND, Grace to you, and Peace from God our Father and the *Lord Jesus Christ.*

THree reasons have prevailed with me, to set your Honourable and Reverend name before this Sermon: One is, That having Preached it before the Honourable Houses of the Parliament of England, I conceived it more convenient to send it to you in Print, then to direct it to them the second time, and in so doing I cannot apprehend any danger of censure: Because the ground of my Calling to joyne in so solemne an action, was rather a Nationall concernment then any personall respect to me, or expectation of any thing that could proceed from my Weakness, Worthy of such an Auditory; as is one of the greatest, and graveſt on earth. In this therefore (if I mistake not) I doe comply with their intentions, and still follow their respects. Another Reason is, that after so long absence not onely from my personall charge, but from you my mother Church, and Native Countrey, I doe willingly take hold of this opportunity, to testifie that we your servants for Christ, who have the honour to be in this imployment, doe bow our knees to the Father of our Lord Iesus Christ, of whom the whole family of heaven and earth is named, that hee would grant unto you, according to the riches of his glory, to be strengthned with might by his Spirit in the inner man, that Christ may dwell in your hearts by faith (a): And that wee cannot enough render thanks to God for you, for all the joy wherewith we joy, for your sakes before our God, night and day praying exceedingly, that we might see your face, and (according to our calling and measure) might perfect that which is lacking in your faith.

a Ephes. 3. 14, 15, 16.

b Thes. 3. 9. 10. faith. (b) *The opinion of the merit of prayer is abomination, but the principall Theam and matter of the solemnitie of the day, wee take for an answer of the prayers of the godly in the three Kingdomes, and in all the Reformed Kirks; And the desire we have to see you, is not onely that naturall inclination, which is to be found in all of our Nation, whom the cause of God hath brought from their owne bowes and habitations; but our longing to come unto you with rejoycing, bringing our sheaves*
c Psal. 126. 6. *with us,* (c) *and to find you such as we would: for now we live*
d 1. Thes. 3. 8. *if yee stand fast in the Lord* (d). *The third reason is, that I may, upon this occasion which God hath put in my hand, communicate unto you my humble thoughts for your good, unto which many thousands of your sonnes, worthier, then I can have any reason to think my selfe to be, have according to the commandement of God and their manifold obligation, devoted and sacrificed themselves and all that they have; For my part, since I am not able to pay my duty to the full, I shall still acknowledge my Obligation, confesse my debt, and what I have (which is a small proportion to that which I owe) I shall willingly offer.*

The Lord hath done great things for you, and by you. His Spirit speaking in your faithfull Pastours, and working in your owne hearts, will teach you and give you grace in Wisedome and humilitie, to compare your present estate under the light, puritie, libertie, and blessings of the Gospell, with the darknesse, corruptions, tyrannie and miseries, which our forefathers were covered with under Paganisme of old, and under Antichrist afterwards, and which our selves did endure under Antichristian Prelacy of late. It is true, the present times are full of sufferings, calamities, losse, and feares; all the three Kingdoms have drunken, although by equall draughts, of a very bitter cup, such as the Lord propineth when he is angry with his people, and no man knoweth when the end shall be: Yet if we consider what our miseries might have been, if these our miseries had not been, that we ought to choose affliction, and not impiety or iniquity, and that all our troubles are but the travellings of child-birth, to bring forth a Reformation; We will take the saying of Ecclesiastes to be spoken to every one of us: Say not thou, What is the cause that the former dayes were better then these? for thou dost not enquire wisely concerning

this (e),

this (e). I intend not to set forth the great power and mercifull providence of God in the late seasonable Deliverance, and notable victory, never to be forgotten, that being recent in your minds, and the intent of the following Sermon; We ought to be thankefull for the undeniable presence of God, to stir up our selves to take hold of him, lest he hide his face and depart from us, and to goe on hereafter with confidence in his Name against the greatest difficulties. e Eccles. 7. 10.

But when I call to minde what hath come to passe in these dayes, since the beginning of our troubles, and begin to consider the proceedings and results of Divine providence, contrary to the designes and devices of the Enemies, which they cannot deny, and farre beyond the first intentions and particular desires of such as the Lord hath used for instruments in his work, which they do reverently acknowledge, I may make use of the grave and serious Warning of the Apostle: Behold therefore the goodnes and severity of God: on them which fell, severity; but towards thee, goodnes, if thou continue in his goodnes: otherwise thou also shalt be cut off (f). And that we may the more value the goodnes of God to our selves, We ought the more to behold the severitie of God cutting off the pompe, the pride, the tyrannie, and power of the Enemies. I may also with him (although writing of a matter of another kinde) cry out: O the depth of the riches both of the Wisedome and knowledge of God, how unsearchable are his judgements, and his Wayes past finding out! for who hath knowne the minde of the Lord or Who hath been his Counsellour (g)? Not only in the matter of salvation and damnation; but in the administrations of his providence, the Lord useth his Soveraignitie, and doth what seemeth good unto his Wisedome: and although we know not the particular reason of every thing, yet this we know, whatsoever be the Weaknesse of men upon the one hand, or the wickednesse of men on the other, that all things are done by him that ruleth the world, in great Wisedome and Justice, to his own glory and the good of his Church. Againe, When from my sense of my self, & of my own thoughts & Wayes (which many thousands may observe, and no doubt doe observe of themselves) I begin to remember, how men who love to live obscurely and in the shadow, are brought forth to light, to the view and talking of the World, how men that love quietnes are made to stirre, and to have a hand f Rom. 11, 22.

g Rom. 11. 33, 34.

in publique busines; how men that love Soliloquies and contemplations are brought upon debates and controverſies, how men who love peace, are made to War and to ſhed blood; and generally how men are brought to act the things, which they never determined, nor ſo much as dreamed of before; The words of the Prophet Jeremie *come to my remembrance*: O Lord, I know that the way of man is not in himſelfe: it is not in man that walketh to direct his ſteps (*h*): *which imply the poſitive part: That the way of man is in the hand of God, and that the Lord directeth his ſteps to his owne appointed ends; according to the ſaying of the wiſe* Solomon *(whether ſpeaking of the Decrees of God, or of the word of God)* There are many devices in a mans heart, nevertheleſſe the Counſell of the Lord, that ſhall ſtand (*i*). *Experiments of things paſt, are documents of things to come. Let no man think himſelf abſolute maſter of his own actions or wayes*: When thou waſt young thou girdedſt thy ſelf, and walkedſt whither thou wouldſt: but when thou ſhalt be old, thou ſhalt ſtretch forth thy hands, and another ſhall gird thee, and carry thee whither thou wouldeſt not (k). *Let no man ſay*; I ſhall die in my neſt, in mine owne houſe with my children about me and under my wings (l). *We will learne I hope by time (if we be not unteachable) to diſtinguiſh betwixt our firſt and naturall will, and our ſecond, our Spirituall, and more deliberate will*; and to ſay: Not my will, but thy Will be done (*m*). *The ſeven years of enſuing Providence, may carry us as far beyond the preſent intentions, whether of the enemies of Religion, or our own, as the ſeven yeers paſt have done, beyond our former intentions and thirſt. The pulling down of Poperie in the Chriſtian world, and the puling down of Prelacie, and the ſupporters thereof in* Britaine, *are equally feaſible to the Almighty, Who delighteth to turn our difficulties and impoſſibilities into the glorious demonſtrations of his Divine Power, and Who putteth motions into the hearts of men, which they turne into Petitions, and indeavours, and God by his Power, bringeth forth into reality and action, the conception, birth, and perfection is all from himſelf.*

h Ier. 10. 23.

i Pro. 19. 21.

k Iohn 21. 18.

l Iob 29. 18.

m Mat. 26. 39.

When I ſpeake of the future, and that which afterwards may come to paſſe, my meaning is, not that God will alwayes, and throughout the Whole Work, uſe the ſame individuall inſtruments,

experience

experience hath already proved the contrary; I speak of the Collective and successive body, which like a flood, runneth in a continuall course, but the severall parts passe by very quickly; Joshua *must succeed to* Moses, *and* Eliazar *to* Aaron, *before the people of God be brought into* Canaan, *and others must come after them, before the Temple be builded; each one whom the Lord calleth, hath his own part. As the course of generall Providence in the World, and of speciall Providence in the Kirk, goeth on constantly, according to the Eternall Decrees of God, which men may oppose and clamour against, but can no more hinder then the rising of the Sun, and his ascending to his strength: So doth the course of particular Providence in the lives of men, which he cutteth off, or continueth at his pleasure: Nor should any man, who hath seen the beginnings of this Worke, offend, or be displeased, that his days are ended before it end, more then others, who shall be honoured to be the Witnesses of the glorious conclusion thereof, have cause to be grieved, that they have not seen, or had a hand in the beginnings of it: even as we have no more reason to be grieved, that our life lasteth not longer, then that it did not begin sooner. No man could know, but his life might have been as short in Peace, as it hath been in Warre; nor was it in any mans power in the time of Peace, to choose the manner of his death. It should be sufficient for us, that wee follow the calling of God, that our life is not deare to us, when he, who spared not his life for us, calleth for it, that wee are ready to lay it down in his Cause, and that it shall adde to our blessednesse, if wee die not only in the Lord, but for the Lord.*

Let us therefore observe the Lords Providence, admire his Wisdome, & goodnesse, adore his Soveraignty and greatnesse, and cheerfully offer, and give up our selves to be disposed upon at his Will, seeking his glory, and not our owne, and to approve our selves to our own consciences, and not to the world: This will make us sincere and straight in our course, when others are seeking themselves, quiet and secure in the midst of dangers, when others, like Magor-Missabib, *have fear round about, and contented in con-* Ier. 20. 3.
fidence of a recompence of reward from God, against the ingratitude of men, when Mercenaries have not the patience to beare it, because they served no other master, and had no other thing in their eye, but their Wages: a poor compensation of their paines,

and in proportion to the adventurers of their lives. It is a frequent observation in history, upon a world of examples, that such as have deserved best of the publik, have met not only with private ingratitude, but have often been recompenced evill for good: which hath given occasion to Politicians to enter upon the debate of two questions: One is: what can be the cause of this so universally known and confessed ingratitude, not only from particular persons, but from the publick. The other is: how it commeth to passe, that not withstanding this knowne ingratitude, there be some found in every age and State, that are more stirred up to deserve well of the publick, nor discouraged, or deterred, by what hath befallen others before them. Concerning the first, amongst other reasons taken from that corruption, malice, and envie, which possesseth the nature of man they alleage, that it proceedeth from covetousnesse, which maketh the publick to quarrell with them, that such may seem unworthy of reward, whose great merits they have either willing or unable to reward. The other they attribute to an heroick desire of immortall praise, and a divine disposition to doe good to all. But our Profession can answere both in a word, that by a speciall providence, such as have deserved well, come short of their rewards from men, that they may learne in serving of men, to serve God, and by Faith and Hope to expect their reward from himself, and in and from himself for their reward; and that notwithstanding all the ingratitude of the world, the Lord giveth gracious spirits to his servants and stirreth them up by his Spirit (the motions whereof, they neither can, nor will resist) to doe valiantly in his Cause. God hath made you a fruitfull Mother of many Sonnes, as England, France, and Ireland may this day bear witnesse. Never had your Sonnes more cause to rejoyce in their Mother; for God hath made you honourable: Nor you the Mother more cause to rejoyce in your Sonnes for God hath put it in their hearts, to offer themselves willingly in & for the cause of Christ. If some have proved Sonnes of Beliall, void of grace and naturall affection, and have provoked you to pronounce a malediction upon them, the Grace of God which hath made the difference, is the more to be magnified; and they that stand, as they are the more to be honored, so are they warned, to take heed lest they fall.

Two things there be chiefly, which will give you peace for the present, and through the blessing of God, will bring your troubles to a comfortable end; one is, that when yee heare of Separatists, Semi-separatists, Anabaptists, Antinomians, Libertines, Socinians, and of the many sects, which Satan the father of Heresies and Schismes, in opposition to the intended Uniformity in religion, hath raised in this Kingdome, and which no wisedome under heaven is able to cure, but by setling the true government of the Kirk by Presbyteries and Synods: Yee may call to minde, and apply to your selves the wholsome Counsell of the Prophet Micah, All people will walk, every one in the Name of his God, and wee will walk in the Name of the Lord our God, for ever and ever (*n*); *Hee will not have us to promise to our selves an universall consent in Religion through the whole earth; nor to suffer our selves to be driven away by the example or sleight of men, and cunning craftinesse, whereby they lie in wait to deceive* (*o*): *But will have us to walk in the Name of our God, which is nothing else but to understand, beleeve, and obey his word, by which he is knowne as by his Name; and this he will have us to doe, not for some time, but for ever and ever; and with the counsell of the Prophet joyne the example of the Kirk of God, All this is come upon us, yet have we not forgotten thee, neither have wee dealt falsly in thy Covenant; our heart is not turned back, neither have our steps declined from thy way, though thou hast sore broken us in the place of Dragons,* and covered us with the shadow of death (*p*). *This testimony of your uprightnesse and constancy, that no trouble could move you, so much as in heart, to turne away from the way of God, will bee a Well-spring of comfort to you in all your troubles, and this comfort (I speak it to the praise of the free grace of God) belongeth unto you: for would ye have dealt falsly in the Covenant, and forsaken the truth, yee might not onely have escaped all the troubles which ye have sustained at home and abroad, but also have enjoyed all the Peace and plenty that the world could promise; This I speak as a naturall man, and this indeed is the judgement of the naturall man, looking no higher then this world, and the second causes: But as the Messenger of God, I may say, had yee dealt wickedly against his Covenant, and blest your selves in your owne heart, saying, I shall have peace, though I walke in the imagination of mine heart, the Lord*

n Micah 4. 5.

o Ephes. 4. 14.

p Psal. 44. 17. 18, 19.

Lord would not have ſpared you, but the anger of the Lord, and
q Deut. 29. 20. *his Jealouſie would have ſmoaked againſt you* (q).

The other thing that I would to this purpoſe commend, is that ye would remember, that beſides Hereſie, which oppoſeth the truth profeſſed by the Kirk, and beſide Schiſme, which deſtroyeth the Unity of the Kirk, Profaneneſſe of heart and life, which is a third peſt, hath ever ſpoiled the holineſſe of the Kirk, and is a moſt high provocation againſt the moſt holy Lord God, which we are all to ſtrive againſt, as well as againſt Hereſie and Schiſme, by joyning the power of Godlineſſe with the Profeſſion and forme
r 2. Tim. 3. 5. *thereof* (r), and by holding the myſtery of the Faith in a pure
ſ 1. Tim. 3. 9. Conſcience (ſ), which ſome ſometime amongſt you, having
t 1. Tim. 1. 19. put away (*and that with violence done to their conſcience, as the Word importeth*) concerning Faith have made ſhipwrack (t), *and have endeavoured to bring others upon the Rocks, that they might periſh with them. Spirituall judgements are to be obſerved no leſſe then temporall, both becauſe there is more wrath in them, and they are more hardly diſcerned.* Pelagianiſme *of old*, and Arminianiſme *of late, is the juſt puniſhment of a formall Profeſſion*, Socinianiſme, *of the neglect of the Sonne of God*, Antinomianiſme, *of turning the grace of God into wantonneſſe*, Anabaptiſme, *of Baptizing of Infants in private, and of the ſlighting of the Baptiſme in publick, as if it did not concerne the whole Congregation*; and Separation, *of the deſpiſing of the true Government of the Kirk*; *ſo doth the Lord ſend ſtrong deluſions upon them that receive not the love of the truth*, and take pleaſure in unrighteouſneſſe (u). *I will not excuſe the length of this*
u 2. Theſ. 2. 10, 11, 12. *Epiſtle, becauſe I intended it. I am not bounded to a time in writing, as I behoved to be in Preaching. I am bold with you, becauſe I know you. To ſave you from ſpirituall judgements, to deliver you comfortably from your preſent troubles, and to make you walke worthy of the grace wherein the Lord hath abounded toward you, that you fall not, and that you may be preſented faultleſſe before Christ with joy, is and ſhall be the humble and earneſt deſire, and prayer of*

Your humble Servant, and

obedient Son, in and for

the Goſpel of CHRIST.

A SERMON PREACHED Before the Lords and Commons at *Margarets* Church in *Westminster*, upon *Thursday* the 18. of *July*, 1644.

MATTH. 14. 31.

And immediately Jesus stretched forth his hand, and caught him, and said unto him, O thou of little faith, wherefore didest thou doubt?

MUch is this day required of Your Honours, much of You very Honourable, and much of us all, beloved of the Lord Jesus Christ. In the times of the old Testament, the Sacrifices of one Solemnity were much the same with the Sacrifices of another; Yet when more feasts did meet together in one day as the Sabbath, the first day of the moneth, and the feast of Trumpets, (a) all the Sacrifices of the severall dayes were offered in that one day; Which made the greater celebrity. The Lord hath this day multiplyed his benefits upon us, as the Loaves and Fishes were multiplyed in the hands of the Apostles, in the time of the distri-

a Numb. 28. & 29.

b John 6.

bution(b) : *for no ſooner is the day indicted to give thanks for one favour, but we heare the newes of another, that We may adde more fire, and multiply our Sacrifices.*

VVhy this Text choſen.

ALthough theſe words of our Lord, at the firſt hearing, may ſeem not to be much important to the ſolemnity of the day, yet a twofold conſideration hath led me to this choice : One is, becauſe for ſome time paſt, where I had occaſion to ſpeak in publike, I have been expounding and applying to our preſent Troubles, this part of the holy Hiſtory, expreſſing the dangerous tempeſt, which toſſed the Diſciples of Chriſt at Sea, as an Embleme and repreſentation of the condition of the Church of Chriſt on earth, eſpecially in the time of great trouble : herein following the example (beſide many other interpreters) of a worthy inſtrument of Reformation, who in the Idolatrous and bloody times of Queen *Mary*, did upon this Text, in the evidence and power of the Spirit, write a large Admonition to the Profeſſors of the trueth in England (c) : And now being by Providence brought on to theſe words, expreſſing the deliverance of *Peter* out of his ſpeciall tentation, and leading us toward the ceaſing of the winde, and calming of the tempeſt, I judged them not unfit for the preſent condition, which God by his mercifull Providence hath brought our affaires into at this time. The Lord who ſtretched forth his hand, and caught *Peter*, when he was beginning to ſinke, and ſoon after, made the winde to ceaſe, which moved them that were in the Ship to come and worſhip him, ſaying, *Thou art the Sonne of God*; the ſame Lord, even the Lord of Armies, and the God of battells, hath ſtretched forth his hand for our deliverance, and when he will, he can rebuke the windes, and by his Word make a comfortable calme, that all the three Kingdomes may fall downe and worſhip him, ſaying with one minde, and one mouth, to the hearing of all the Chriſtian world, *Of a truth thou art the Sonne of God*; which would prove a ground of reforming the Houſe of God according to his own will : For if they had knowne the Son of God, the King of glory, they would not have crucified, but ſubmitted

c The admonition of *John Knox* to the profeſſors of the truth in *England*.

unto

unto him, and done his will. Another conſideration alſo made me to fix upon this Text: although it doth not hold forth a formall thankſgiving, which is ſo ordinary in other places of Scripture, that nothing more; and that which followeth here afterward, is liker unto it, yet it containeth the materialls, and layeth a foundation of the duty: for it is a notable and ſeaſonable deliverance out of a great diſtreſſe, together with a moſt powerfull argument to enforce the duty of Thankeſgiving, taken from the unworthineſſe of the party on whom it is beſtowed: *Why diddeſt thou doubt, O thou of little Faith?* The depth of our diſtreſſe, the greatneſſe of our Deliverance, and the weakneſſe of our Faith, which hath made a great deale of doubting, are fuell to enflame our hearts, and to make the fire of the Sacrifice to aſcend.

Paraphraſed.

In the words going before, *Peter* had not ſo much Faith, as that when the winde became boyſterous, he was able any more to walke on the water: for through the weakneſſe of his faith, he beginneth to ſinke: yet he hath ſo much faith, that when he beginneth to ſinke, he cryeth out, *Lord ſave me*, and immediately the Lord anſwereth his Prayer, and ſendeth him a preſent deliverance in ſuch manner, as he might know it was from himſelf, for he ſtretched out his hand and caught him: but withall rebuketh him for the weakneſſe of his faith, which made him ſo to waver, that at firſt hee would aſſay to walke on the water, and now when he ſees the winde boyſterous, he beginneth to ſinke.

Divided.

The Text parteth it ſelf in two branches: the one is a Deliverance, the other a Reprehenſion. The branch of Deliverance beareth a ſweet fruit of thankfulneſſe, and the branch of reprehenſion, a more bitter, but very wholſome fruit of humiliation, which being taſted by us, maketh the deliverance to reliſh the better with our ſelves, and the thankfulneſſe the more acceptable to God: both together make up a compoſition like unto that of the holy oyle and perfume, *Exod.* 30. and leadeth us up to the Mountaine of Myrrhe, and to the hill of Frankincenſe, *Cant.* 4. 6.

In the deliverance of *Peter*, there be four things obſerveable, and appliable unto our deliverance. 1. The greatneſſe

of it, *Peter* was delivered out of a great danger: *hee was walking upon the water, and the winde was boisterous.* 2. The seasonableneſſe and opportunity of it, *When he was beginning to sinke.* 3. The sensibleneſſe of the hand of Christ in working it: *Hee stretched forth his hand, and caught him.* 4. The relation of it to the Prayer of *Peter*, unto which it was a reall answer: *Peter cryed, Lord save me and immediately Jesus stretched forth his hand, and caught him.* And Fiftly, I take in the matter of the reprehenſion, which is the second part of the text, as it relateth to the deliverance: for his unbelief and doubting was the lead that made him sink, but free grace was the rock that carried him above, and so the deliverance was a free deliverance; not from his merit, but contrary to his demerite. From theſe particulars, I preſent this obſervation.

Doct. *Doct.* That who so is wiſe, and desire to see the loving kindneſſe of the Lord in their Deliverance, that they may mutually love the Lord, and be thankfull unto him, are to obſerve and consider not onely the subſtance, and (if I may so call it) the bulk and body of their deliverance, but the circumſtances also wherewith it is clothed, and with the train whereof it commeth accompanied unto us. For understanding whereof we are to diſtinguiſh not onely in humane actions between one man and another, but in all our actions toward God, and in all the actions of God toward us, betwixt the action it self, and the circumſtances compaſſing and clothing it: for although Juriſconſults, Rhetoricians, and Divines, doe differ about the enumeration and particular deſcription of circumſtances, yet all of them with one conſent acknowledge that they are much to be heeded and obſerved. In our good actions, where the ſubſtance is but ſmall, the circumſtance maketh a ſupply. The poverty of the Widow added much weight to her two mites, which ſhe threw into the Treaſury: *Verily I say unto you, that this poore widow hath caſt more in then all theſe who hath caſt into the Treaſury: for all they did caſt in of their abundance, but ſhee of her want did caſt in all that ſhe had, even all her living*, Mark. 12 43 44. In all our evill actions, it aggravateth our tranſgreſſion, that wee who

who are but dust and ashes, doe sinne against the greatest and goodest God, and that for trifles, for things of no worth and perishing. That we sinne against Knowledge, and against Mercy. The distinction of sinnes of ignorance, of weaknesse, and presumption: the excusablenesse and inexcusablenesse of sinne, ariseth from this ground. In the actions of God toward us, both the blessings and deliverances which we receive, are much illustrated and magnified by the circumstances of so great a God, that it is not lawfull for us to endeavour to expresse how great hee is; he being great without measure, that he should have loved us first, us so small, even before vve vvere, and such, even his enemies, and so much, and so greatly, that he spared not his ovvne Sonne to die for us, spared not his ovvne Spirit to dvvell vvith us. Thus we see how this love is magnified and multiplyed by the circumstances which make it a great love, a manifold love, a wonderfull love. So is it also in Divine deliverances both of his people in the times of the old Testament, of his Church in the times of the Nevv Testament, and of particular persons in both times. The Circumstances adde much light and lustre unto them, to endeare them the more unto us. No man can thinke upon the deliverance of the people of God from *Egypt*, and from *Babylon*, and of the Christian Church from persecution, but he must spend a great part of his thoughts upon the circumstances of the Deliverances. The Deliverances from the *Armado*, from the Powder-Treason, from the enemie since the beginning of this VVarre, are great in substance, but each one of them is also admirable in the circumstances. And who can meditate upon the preservation and deliverance of *Noah*, of *Joseph*, of *Moses*, of *David*, of *Daniel*, of *Jonah*, of *Peter*, of *Paul*, and many others of old, and of late, but he must be affected with many particular occurrences of their deliverances? Naturall men look to the substance onely, and satisfie themselves in this, that they are delivered, but those that are spirituall, cannot satisfie themselves in the meditation of the Circumstances, with which they are deeply affected.

1. *Reason.* There may be three reasons given, why circumstances of this kind are to be observed. 1. Because the Lord God hath a Providence in the smallest things, in things most casuall and contingent, and in such things as are arbitrary unto men, and seem most to depend upon their will and election. And what he dignifieth with his Providence, we ought not to disdaine in our observation. The poorest of the works of Divine dispensation, is abundantly rich in our meditation.

2. *Reason.* 2. There is much manifestation of love to the people of God in circumstances, and much Revelation of the wrath of God against the enemy. When the Godly look upon them, their hearts are wonderfully affected, overcome, and melted within them; and when the wicked are constrained to heare of them, they are confounded within themselves, and never more then upon this ground, doe apprehend, that God hath been fighting against them, and they fighting against God.

3. *Reason.* 3. A third Reason may be, because the Lord prepareth matter for a Sacrifice of glory and Thanksgiving to himself, not onely from the great bundles and sheaves of his works, but from the small scattered eares of his Providence: for of him, and through him, and for him are all things.

Similes. Upon these and the like grounds, we are to observe the circumstances of the worke of God at this time. The Deliverance and victory it self, is like the moone shining in the night with her borrowed light from the Sunne, yet the circumstances thereof are like the bright Starres, and some of them of the first magnitude, twinckling, and sending out their light round about for our contemplation and comfort. The one is the faire and beautifull ground of the worke, the other the embroidery and variety of colours wrought upon it by the hand of God, and laid before our eyes, that we may behold the manifold goodnesse, power, and wisedome of God.

The greatnesse of *Peters* deliverance. I shall now therefore enter upon the particulars formerly proposed from the text: of which the first was the greatnesse of *Peters* Deliverance at this time, which may appeare, if we consider these three things. 1. The glory of Jesus Christ: if *Peter* had perished at this time, it had not been (speaking after

after the manner of men) without dishonour to the Sonne of God: for being called by him to come upon the water, it would have been attributed to want of power in Christ, if hee had perished, and it was his glory to save him; and so in this respect the Deliverance was great. 2. The danger he was in: the raging Sea ready to devoure him, he being unable to save himself, and there being no other to helpe him, and therefore in this respect, the Deliverance great. 3. The danger the other Disciples were in: for if they had seen him sinke down and swallowed up, what could they who were still tossed in the ship, have expected, but to have perished also? and therefore in respect of the Disciples, it was a great Deliverance. The Lord looketh to his own glory, to the distresse of his servants that are like to perish, and to the scandall of others, and draweth them forth of many Waters. *Psal.* 18. 16.

2. The seasonablenesse and opportunity of this Deliverance is manifest by two things; one was, when the Sea through the boysterous winde was in the greatest rage; the other was, when he was brought very low in his owne sense. It is familiar in Scripture to compare the Enemies of the Church to the raging waves of the Sea: when the enemie is most arrogant and proud, and when the Church and people of God are beginning to sinke, then is the opportunity of the destruction of the one, and deliverance of the other: for in that nick of time, is the hand & power of God most discernable to his owvn glory, then is the confusion of the enemy most terrible, then is the deliverance of the Godly most vvonderfull, and comfortable. Hence is it that the Lord, vvho hath appointed time for every thing, and hath made every thing beautifull in his time, keepeth this rule in all his great deliverances: hee suffereth the vvicked to exalt themselves, and to gather strength, hee giveth them sometimes Victories in a vicissitude with the people, and thereby hardneth their own hearts, and the hearts of others that trust in them; (as when the Magitians brought things to passe, like unto the Miracles of *Moses*) for how else should they grow up, and be made ripe for destruction? How should their cup be filled? Hee suffereth also his owne people, and his owne

The seasonablenesse thereof.

Cauſe ſometimes to be borne downe, for how elſe ſhould they be in due time exalted? But all this is nothing elſe but a preparation for a glorious worke of Juſtice and Mercy in the end. If men would lay this one parcell of Providence to heart, they would be forced againſt all their Atheiſme, to cry out, *Verily there is a reward for the righteous, verily he is God that judgeth the earth*, Pſalm. 58. 11.

The ſenſibleneſs of the hand of Chriſt in it.

3. The third thing, it the ſenſibleneſſe of the hand of Chriſt in delivering *Peter*, *He ſtretched forth his hand, and caught him.* He could have ſaved him by his word only, as *Matth.* 8. 8. The *Centurion* ſaid, *Speak the word only, and my ſervant ſhall be healed*; Yea without ſpeaking of the word, by his Divine power: for even when he did ſpeak the word, it was not his Word, but his Power that wrought the miracle, as when before he ſaid to *Peter*, *Come*, it was not his word but his power that made *Peter* to walk upon the water. Yet he ſtretched forth his hand for divers cauſes, but principally, that it might be knowne, that he it was that by his power did deliver him. Thus did he in working other Miracles, as in curing the Lepers, and the ſicke, that it might be knowne, that he himſelf, and no other did worke them, and all to this effect, that when it is ſeen that his hand worketh deliverance, he may have the glory of it. Wherefore are the Works of God aſcribed to the Arme of God, the hand of God, the right hand of God, the finger of God, but that his power and efficiency may be acknowledged of us, and that he may have the praiſe of his own work? The Lord is a jealous God, and will not give his glory to another. Hee giveth many good things to the Children of men, and worketh many notable Deliverances for them, but the glory of them all he reſerves for himſelf. *Potiphar* committed all that he had to the hand of *Joſeph*, and kept nothing back from him but his Wife, which made *Joſeph* to ſay (and we in this caſe may ſay it upon greater reaſon) *how can I doe this great wickedneſſe and ſinne againſt God?* Gen. 39. 9. He is an Uſurper, an Adulterer, an Idolater, and Atheiſt that robbeth God of his glory. *Thus ſaith the Lord, Let not the wiſe man glory in his Wiſdome, neither let the mighty man glory in his might;*

Let

Let not the rich man glory in his riches: but let him that glorieth glory in this, that he understandeth and knoweth me that I am the Lord, which exercise loving kindnes, judgement, and righteousnesse in the earth: for in these things I delight, saith the LORD.

4. A fourth thing to be taken notice of in this deliverance is, the Relation it had to the prayer of *Peter*. Hee prayed in his danger and distresse, and the Lord immediatly stretched forth his hand and delivered him. The Blessings and Deliverances which God graunteth unto his people are much endeared unto us by this, that they are the answer of our prayers: For beside the benefit and deliverance it selfe, our faith in the generall is confirmed, that wee worship not an Idoll, but the true and living God who heareth prayer. Our speciall faith is much strengthened; for hereby wee know that God heareth our prayer, that through Jesus Christ our prayers and persons are accepted, and that he is our God. The Relation it had to the prayer of Peter.

Hence it is observeable that the Godly, such as *Hannah*, *David*, and others, speake to God in more familiar termes after they had received the answers of their prayers, then before. Our confidence also is increased. For upon the gracious answer of our prayers, we can with greater boldnes present our petitions before the throne of Grace. No man maketh conscience of prayer, or endeavoureth to pray aright, but hee maketh also conscience and endeavoureth to observe the answer of his prayers. Sometimes the present answer of prayer, is no other but the continuance of the spirit of prayer, which still *helpeth our infirmities and maketh intercession for us*, Rom 8.26. Sometimes *our prayer returneth into our bosome*, Psal.35.13. where we finde *the peace of God which passeth all understanding, to keep our hearts and mindes through Christ Jesus*, Phil. 4.7. Sometimes we have no other answer, but *my grace is sufficient for thee: for my strength is made perfect in weakenes*, 2.Cor.12.9. And sometimes, either a better, or the same thing which we desired, and it may be with great advantage, is granted unto us: of which there bee many examples like unto this of the answer of *Peters* prayer.

It was from free goodnes.

The fifth and last thing which setteth forth this Deliverance, is this, That it was of free goodnes, and not from any perfection in him: for he is rebuked for his doubting as one of little faith. Where we may observe, that beside the wide difference betwixt beleevers and unbeleevers, which is a difference in kind (faith elevating a beleever far above naturall men and unbeleevers, as man is above the inferiour creatures, and angels above men) There is a difference in degrees betwixt one beleever and another, and betwixt a beleever and himself; insomuch that one is said to be of little faith, and another to have great faith, and one and the same beleever sometimes to have little; at other times great faith. *Peter* had faith to walk upon the water, which was the greater triall, but now when the winde is boysterous, which was the lesser temptation, his faith proveth weak, which was a Prognostick of that which came to passe in his deniall afterward (*a*). I have not a minde nor is it proper for this time to wearie your attention with the many distinctions of faith: that there is a faith which is an habite and vertue Theologicall, and a faith which is a speciall gift: that there is a faith felt, and a faith unfelt: much lesse with the distinctions of faith formed and unformed, explicite and implicite. I would onely tell you, that faith is said to be weake extensively, and in respect of the knowledge of the things to be beleeved: thus the faith of the Apostles, while they knew not the Resurrection of Christ, the faith of *Rachab*, the woman of *Samaria*, and many others who knew but few of the mysteries of faith, was but a weake faith: Or intensively and in respect of perswasion and application: It was long ere *Thomas* was brought to say, *My Lord and my God.* Hee that hath this weake faith may be considered of us as hee hath faith, for weake faith is true faith, and as his faith is weak: as he hath faith he beleeveth and adhereth to the truth of the word, and in distresse prayeth and cryeth with *Peter*, *Lord save me*: But as his faith is weakned by temptations and difficulties apprehended by naturall sense and carnall reason, which is the wisdome of the world, and an enemy to the receiving of the wisdome of God, hee doubteth, hee wavereth, hee staggereth through

(a) *Quid aliud erat Christum sequi in atrium pontificis quam super eisdem fluctibus ambulare cum Christo? et quid aliud erat tentatio Ancillæ quam ventus adversarius? et quid aliud territo ex timore, quam hic submersio ex timore? Musculus, in Matth. 14.*

through a mixture of unbeliefe, which certainely is the work of the flesh, whatsoever Papists say to the contrary in commendation of doubting: and yet such is the goodnes and grace of out Lord Iesus Christ, that in this night of darknes, in this winter season, he looketh at the root under the ground, and to the leafe of prayer which it sends forth, when neither fruit nor flower doth appeare, and thereupon, hee that breaketh not the bruised reed, and quencheth not the smoaking flax, doth deliver his owne children, which maketh them afterward when they recover their strengths, to thinke shame of themselves, and to admire of his wonderfull goodnes. Faith sometimes is like fire in the flint, which to the sense is as cold as another stone, yet hath fire in it naturally, as the soule which is partaker of the Divine Nature, hath faith in it supernaturally: Sometimes it is like fire in the tinder, sometimes like fire in the match, sometimes like fire in the candle, and sometimes like fire on the hearth, which enlightneth and warmeth the whole roome: But the Lord in answering the prayers of his people, looketh more to the truth then to the degree of faith. The word of doubting (as some have searched into the nature of it) is borrowed from a ballance or paire of weights, the scales whereof move and wayer up and downe inconstantly. Wee have another word *Marke* 11. 23. which signifieth to dispute or debate, because they who doubt have a dispute and debate of adverse parties within themselves, like that of the twins which struggled together in the wombe of *Rebecca*, and makes them to goe, and enquire of the Lord. The nature of faith, *Heb.* 11. 1. is a subsistence by which the minde looking constantly at Jesus Christ, is preserved from fluctuating and doubting, as when the tongue of the Ballance standeth streight and stable. But Satan, the old *Adam*, and the world, come in, and sometimes lift up the one scale in Presumption, and sometimes beare down the other in diffidence and pusilanimity. Christ opposeth to the one the danger of sinking, and to the other his Word and hand, that so the soul may be reduced to the stability and subsistence of Faith. Thus was the wonderfull Wisedome,

Τί ἐδίστασας; Διστάζω ἐστὶ δίχως βαλεύειν, καὶ νόον εἰς δύο στάσεις ἔχω καὶ διάνοιαν. Etym.

Mercy, Truth, and Power of the Sonne of God, manifested at that time, and many times since.

The five circumstances of *Peters* deliverance applyed to ours.

And thus have I made a survey of the five Circumstances accompanying this miracle of *Peters* Deliverance: all which are very appliable to that notable deliverance which the Lord hath wrought for us, for the publick acknowledgement whereof, we hold this solemne Assembly. First, if it had pleased the Lord to turne his hand against us, which was stretched out for us against our enemies, the Name of God had been dishonoured, our Armies had been destroyed, and our selves, that were but in a ship neere unto them, had been in danger to have perished; and thus the deliverance is great.

2. As it was great and eminent, so was it opportune and seasonable: I speak to them who are acquainted with the posture of affaires: the Enemy had exalted himselfe to the top of his pride, and had designed like *Belshazzar* and his Nobles, to make themselves merry with the spoiles of the people of God, who, although their hearts were stedfast to the Cause and work of God, yet by divine dispensation, delaying their desires, and bringing them about in his owne wise and secret way, were brought low, and therefore in the one respect, and the other, a very seasonable deliverance.

3. The hand of God was sensibly seen in it: specially that when they were almost lost in the opinion of many of themselves, the Lord brought the wheele about upon the enemy so marvellously, that it is a wonder, that so many (although they had been naked men) could have fallen by the sword in so few houres.

4. That in this the Lord answered the Prayer of his people: He hath heard us since the beginning of our Supplications, he hath given grace to continue in humiliation and Prayer, he hath many times returned our prayer into our bosome, he hath made his grace sufficient for us to uphold us, and hath given such victories, as have been large matter of thanksgiving: But in this he hath answered us above our expectation & particular desires at this time: For we would have

have been satisfied for the time with the rendring of that beleagred City, but the Lord hath done much, yea, very much more.

5. And we may justly adde the last: That the deliverance was of free goodnesse: For our faith was not perfit. Were not many of us full of doubting and feares, yea full of unbeliefe, that it might have been said of some of us: *Why have ye not beleeved, O yee of no Faith?* And of the best of us, *O yee of little faith, why did you doubt?* Our hearts have been wavering, and moving up and down like a Ballance, sometimes presuming, sometimes distrusting, as wanting that subsistence of faith, which fixeth the heart, and maketh a stablenesse and staiednesse of the soule.

It remaines, that we make the right use of this notable worke of Divine Providence. To this purpose from the text, and from that which followeth after, and goeth before about the same subject; I shall propose three very necessary duties; and what may serve either for reproof, or comfort, shall be intermixed, and for brevity be taken in with the duties.

The use of this worke of Diuine Providence.

The first we may learne from that which followeth, *verse* 33. *Then they which were in the Ship, came and worshipped him, saying, Of a truth thou art the Sonne of God.* They neither envie *Peter*, nor conceive any indignation against him, for his prerogative in walking upon the Water, which was not granted unto them, nor doe they adore or admire him, knowing that without Christ, he could not have been able to save himself. For they had seen him beginning to sinke, and had heard him cry out, *Lord save me*; only they fell downe before Christ, adoring him, and give him this great testimony: *Of a truth thou art the Sonne of God.* They who before, through the hardnesse of their hearts, had not considered the Miracle of the Loaves, *Markr.* 6. 52. did by this miraculous worke know him, and knowing him, they worshiped him: Nor did Christ reject their testimony, but by his silence, consented unto, and sealed the truth of it (c). The

Use 1. Thankfulnesse in Adoration and Confession.

c *Quid ergo est qd. Judæi dicunt eum virum quidem Dei & Prophetam fuisse, filium vero Dei non fuisse? Si filius Dei non fuit, certe neque vir Dei, neque Propheta fuit, cum non sit viri Dei ad exhibitum honorem divinitatis conticescere. Quis dicat eum Cæsarianum esse probum ac genuinum Cæsari fidelem, qui honorem Cæsari soli competentem oblatum non refudiaverit, sed agnoverit?* Muscul. in *Matth.* 14.

same duty is required of us all: No man is to envie those Worthies, whom the Lord hath honoured to be instrumentall in this great worke. The Lord doth what, and by whom he will, and whom the Lord honoureth, it becometh us to honour, which if we grudge to doe, the Lord will honour them the more. Againe, no man ought to offer the fat of the Sacrifice, or the principall praise of the day unto the instruments: Did not many of them at first begin to sink? and as many times before, so all of them at that time, were constrained to cry out, *Lord save us*: but we must all, and they also with us, fall downe before Christ our Saviour, and great Deliverer, and with one heart and voice, say and sing, *Of a truth thou art the Son of God*; which he will admit as a praise due unto his Name, and acceptable unto him, that hee may have a Name above every Name. The humility of *Gideon*, in answering the pride of *Ephraim*, was no lesse commendable, then his courage against *Midian*, when hee said unto them, *What have I done now in comparison of you? is not the gleaning of the grapes of Ephraim, better then the vintage of Abiezer?* It was the wisedome of *Scipio* the Roman Generall, when two of his Souldiers contended about the Crowne (due to him who first scal'd the walles) so hotly, that the whole Army was in danger to be devided, so to determine the question, that the Crowne was given to them both, both having (as he affirmed) climed the wall together. It is observed by the learned for a rule, that in a contest for priority, and praise, when each party from self-love, taketh the first place unto himself, or from partiality, giveth it to him whom he affecteth, that he who unanimously hath the second voice, is to be preferred before all: Upon this ground, the sect of the Academiques amongst the Philosophers hath beene esteemed the best, because both the Stoicks and Epicureans doe give their voice to the Academiques next unto themselves. If a Generall of an Army should examine his chief Commanders, who next themselves did best in battell, it were like that he who had the second voice, were of the greatest merit: and yet they observe a fallacy and reprehension heere; for men cunningly doe incline to give testimony next them.

Take heed to Emulation, and beware of envie.

themselves, unto those that are not like to come in their way, or to stand in their light. There needeth no such contest amongst us: Let all men, falling downe, give the praise unto God, and be content that the work is done, and they have been faithfull in their performances. What hast thou, which thou hast not received? What hast thou received, which might not have been given to another, and which may not for thy pride and emulation, yet be taken from thee, and given to another?

I know the distinction and difference which Moralists make betwixt emulation and envy: that emulation hath place in the greatest and most magnanimous spirits, that hee maketh them to covet and seek after the best gifts, that it affecteth the minde with griefe, not because another is unworthy of that which he hath, (for that is indignation) nor because another hath that which himself wanteth, (for that is envie) but because thou wantest that which another hath, which beseemeth thee to have no lesse then him, and which by thy industry and the blessing of God, thou mightest have attained, or may yet attaine unto: As when a Godly man is grieved, that with other Martyrs of Christ, for whose constancy in the Truth he rejoyceth, he hath not also been partaker of the glory of Martyrdome: Or when a Souldier is grieved, that with his fellow-souldiers, whose courage and successe he congratulates, he had not a hand in the glorious victory against the enemy. I denie not, but such a pure emulation may be found in regenerate hearts, and that there may be somewhat like unto it in a *Themistocles*, that could not sleep when he began to think of the Trophees of *Miltiades* (*d*). Yet would I have it acknowledged, that as emulation and envy are often expressed by one word in both the Originalls, so doth it come to passe that emulation (such is the base corruption of our nature) doth often degenerate into envy, and seldome is it seen, that he who is much emulous, is not somewhat envious (*e*). Some kinds of sinnes doe reign and rage most in the time of Peace and Prosperity, another sort in time of Warre and Trouble: but envy findeth matter to work upon at all times. It is a Monster of many heads: there is one kind

Difference betwixt Emulation and Envy.

d *Plut.* in Apo.

e *Amba ἔριδος sorores atra noctis filia, Hesiod. Illa æmulatio est laudabilis quæ non est rivalitati similis.* Cic.

kind of it like unto that in *Joshua*, *Numb.* 11. 27, 28. and in the Disciples of Christ, *Mark* 9. 38. and in the Disciples of *John*, *Joh.* 3. 26. We are not free of this kind of envy. There is another kind of it, like that of the *Philistims*, *Gen.* 26. 14, 15. which is most diabolicall. But besides these, there be other two sorts of it set on worke by Satan at this time, and which all good men would beware of: One is of those that cannot admit an equall, that would engrosse all alone, *Ma.* 20. 11. *Acts* 13. 44. Another of those that cannot permit any to be preferred unto them, as in *Cain*, *Gen.* 4. 3, 4. In the brethren of *Joseph*, *Acts* 7. 9. In *Miriam*, *Num.* 12. 2. In *Saul*, 1 *Sam.* 18. It was foolishnesse in the women and people, yet it was truth in the Nobles of the *Medes* and *Persians*, *Daniel* 6. 4, 5. The Scribes, Pharises, Sadducees and people of the Jews, *Matth.* 23. 13. *Acts* 5. 17. *Acts* 13. 44, 45.

We have an example of both sorts in the Courtiers of *Saul* against *David*, and in *Pompey* the great, and *Julius Cæsar* (*f*). As it is one of the most common, so it is one of the greatest evils in the world: it being not only most opposite unto Charitie; but the cause of Contention, Mutinies, Lies, Slanders, Sedition, and bringeth a world of miseries from the justice of God. No sort of persons have more need to be upon their guard against this Enemy, then brethren, amongst whom, if once Emulations, Hatred, and Envy, find place to worke division, they become irreconcilable. Like unto fragments of Crystall glasse, which after breaking cannot be cemented againe. Because the smallest injurie, where kindnes is deserved and expected, and much more envie, is judged to be ingratitude, which is acknowledged by all, who know the nature of it, to be a manifest injurie, and as intollerable as any other. And of all sorts of Brethren none have reason to take greater heed unto this evill, then such as naturally are strangers one to another, and of divers nations, but are sworne Brethren, if the fire of envie and hatred once begin to burne in their breasts, they want the affection of naturall brethren to extinguish it. The best remedy for such, is the right embracing of one true Religion, and religiously

(*f*) *Cæsare priorem, Pompeiusve parem.*

to

to remember their Covenant, by which they are joyned to Jesus Christ, and amongst themselves, which will make them forget that they be of divers Countreys and Kingdoms, and timely to resist all divisive motions, the mother whereof is Emulation and envie, which I heartily wish may be as farre from us all, as it was from the Disciples of Christ at this time.

Setting aside therefore with the Disciples all Emulation and Envie, all Admiration and Adoration of men, Let us follow the example of the Apostles in that twofold dutie performed by them: the one is the Adoration of Christ, the other the Confession of Christ. They have not spoken amisse, who conceave that there be foure parts of the Morall worship of God, according to the parts of the first and great Commandment. *Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and all thy soul, and with all thy minde, and with all thy strength.* Mark 12. Luk. 10. The first of them is, the attentive consideration of the works of God by the outward and inward senses. The second is, the right judging of the works of God by the minde and understanding. The third is, the congruous and sutable affection of the soule, by the heart which is the seat of the affections. The fourth is, the testification of this affection in our whole life, by the actions of the will. Amongst which (for they be many) these two in the Text are to be numbred: Adoration and Confession, which were the thanksgiving of the Disciples at this time, and now upon our Deliverance are required of us. And who is it that beholding the power of Christ in the greatnes of the Deliverance, the wisedome of Christ in the seasonableness of the Deliverance, the jealousie of Christ, who will not give his glory to another, in the sensibleness of his hand in working it, the truth of Christ in hearing prayer according to his promise, and the mercy of Christ in passing by so many sins, and so much doubting, would not adore this mighty, wise, jealous, true, and mercifull Lord? When the children of Israel had heard that the Lord had visited them, and that hee had looked upon their affliction, *Then they bowed their heads and worshipped*, Exod. 4. 31. After that the Lord had spoken The Adoration of Christ.

to *Moses* of the Religion of the Passeover, and the smiting of the first borne of *Egypt*, *The people bowed the head and worshipped*, Exod. 12.27. When *Jehoshaphat* upon his fast and Prayer heard from the Spirit of the Lord, which came upon *Iahaziel*, that the Lord was to fight for *Iudah*, and that they were onely to stand still and see the Salvation of the Lord, he bowed his head with his face to the ground, and all *Iudah* and the Inhabitants of *Ierusalem* fell before the Lord worshipping the Lord, 2. *Chron.* 20.18. At the restoring of Religion and cleansing of the house of God, the King and all that were present with him, bowed themselves and worshipped, 2. *Chron.* 29.29. And shall not wee when the Lord hath visited us, and looked upon our affliction, when he hath fought for us, and slaine the strength and first-born of our enemies, when he is about the restoring of Religion, and the cleansing and building of his Temple, shall not we in all feare and reverence fall downe and adore before him, acknowledging his Soveraignitie and our owne basenes and unworthines? Let the whole Church Militant and Triumphant, the twenty foure Elders, and the foure living creatures, men and angels, fall downe and worship him that liveth for ever and ever, saying, Blessing, honour, glory and power, be unto him that sits upon the Throne, and unto the Lambe for ever and ever.

The Confessing of Christ.

The other part of their thanksgiving, is their Confession of Christ. They give him this testimony, *of a truth thou art the Sonne of God.* This they all confesse, and were ready to confesse before all the world, which they also did afterward. Of this testimony *Iohn* saith, *Whosoever shall confesse that Iesus is the Son of God, God dwelleth in him, and he in God*, 1 Joh. 4.15. which is not so to be understood, as if no other truth were to be confest of him, but because that maine and fundamentall truth was then controverted and denyed by Seducers and Antichrists. The Lord requireth of each one of us according to our place and calling, that wee confesse and give our testimonie unto such truths as are most called in question. At this time it is required of the Honourable Houses of Parliament, that they give unto Jesus this testimonie, which is a

necessary

neccessary consequent of the testimonie of the Apostles: *That Iesus Christ is the King of his Church, and that is must be ruled by his Scepter.* That the Government is upon his shoulder, without which all our adoration and Hallelujah, is but like the mocking of him by his enemies, when they cloathed him, sometimes in purple, and sometimes in white, and did put a Crowne of thornes on his head, and in his hand a reed for a Scepter.

No duty better beseemeth the Honourable Houses of Parliament then thankfulnesse: for in thankfulnesse there be three very eminent vertues sutable to their place and eminencie. 1. Truth, when wee acknowledge and professe who it is, from whom we have received the benefit: 2. Justice, in rendring mutuall duties: As receiving is joyned with giving; so is rendering with receiving, which naturall men have considered when they spoke of the three Graces. 3. Wisdome, because gratitude procureth the continuance of favour, as ingratitude, not seeing and discerning favours neere unto us, moveth the Lord to remove them, that we may behold them afarre off. So that gratitude hath Truth, Justice, and Prudence in it: but ingratitude is an Untruth, Injustice, and Foolishnesse. Of all men in the world ungrate men unto God, are the most false, most unjust, and most foolish men. Farre must this be, farre I hope this shall be from the Honourable Houses and from both Kingdomes.

Charitum numerus significat tres actus distinctos in beneficiis, dare, accipere referre; earum nomen affectus quibus in beneficentia, &c. Heming. de lege nat.

Use 2. Obedience to the voice of Christ.

The second dutie which I recommend, is obedience to the Commands of Christ against all difficulties and temptations in the way. When the Lord commanded the Disciples to enter into the ship, they obeyed, although hee went not with them: and the darknes of the night was approaching, and when they met with a stormy and contrary winde, it never so much as entred into their hearts to turne backe againe. When our Lord commanded *Peter* to come unto him upon the water, he gave absolute obedience. Obedience is a principall part of selfe denyall: by other vertues and graces wee deny things of the world, and the naturall delights of the flesh which concerne the body; but this maketh us to deny our owne will, and our naturall reason, and to do the will of God.

As a wilde ſtocke, when a ſprigg of good fruit is graffed in it, bringeth forth fruit according to the nature of the tree, from which the graffe was taken, and not ſuch as the ſtock would have borne, if it had not been graffed: So doth the wild ſtock of our old *Adam*, when the will and commandement of God by the hand of the Spirit, is graffed on it, bring forth fruit after the will of God, and not after our owne naturall will. The occaſionall and particular commands of Chriſt, for ſuch a time, and upon ſuch occaſions, muſt be obeyed, no leſſe then univerſall and perpetuall commands, and the tranſgreſſion of ſuch commands is no leſſe dangerous in the ſad effects which it produceth. The examples of *Abraham*, *Gen.* 22. of *Moſes*, *Num.* 20. 8. of *Saul*, 1 *Sam.* 15. of *Ahab*, 1 *Kings* 20. of the two men, whereof the one did wound, the other refuſed to wound the Prophet. 1 *King.* 20. of *Joſh*, 2 *Kings* 10. of *Amaziah*, 2 *Chron.* 25. and of many others, are evidences of this truth. My humble deſire therefore, and earneſt exhortation is, that in your great wiſdom, ye may conſider what the Lord requireth of you at this time, and in your Zeale, ſet your ſelves to the performance thereof, without diſcouragement or delay; againſt all difficulties, although you ſhould be toſſed with waves and contrary windes at the command of Chriſt, yet in the fourth watch he ſhall come to you and comfort you, and in the end ſhall bring you ſafe to the ſhore. Doe not that which ſeemeth good in your owne eyes, but obey his voyce. Adde not to the Law, nor detract from it, but doe all that is written, turning neither to the right hand, nor to the left. And becauſe nothing doth the Lord at this time more require, then the Reformation of Religion, which is long and earneſtly expected at your hands by all the godly; go about it ſpeedily, and put it not off upon carnall reaſon or worldly reſpects. We do diſtinguiſh betwixt open hoſtilitie and ſecret treachery; but we are alſo to diſtinguiſh betwixt profane policie, and pious prudence. As the worke of God is oppoſed by open hoſtilitie, and which is more dangerous by ſecret treacherie; ſo is it hindered by carnall reaſon and worldly policie. Men may apprehend, that if they ſhould ſettle religion preſently, many

would

would fall off, and your affaires ſhould not ſucceed ſo proſperouſly: But I beleeve the contrary to be true, that the policie which *Ieroboam* and the Jewes uſed in the time of Chriſt, *Joh.* 11. a caſe not unlike unto ours, brought this ſame very evill upon them, which they feared, and did endeavour to avoid by their policy. *Luther* uſed to ſay, that three things would prove mightie hinderances to Chriſtian religion. 1. Forgetfulnes of the worke of God. 2. Security, which he found prevailing already in his time, and 3. Policie and worldly wiſedome, which would bring all things in order, and cure the publike ſtirs with the counſell of man; to determine the preſent controverſies by humane reaſon, was in his judgement to go mad with reaſon. *Hezekiah* was not guided by policy in his reformation, but removed the high places, and brake the Images, and cut downe the groves, and broke in pieces the braſen Serpent that *Moſes* had made: For unto thoſe dayes the children of Iſrael did burne incenſe to it, and he called it *Nehuſhtan*, 2. *Kings* 18. 4. This hee did in the firſt year of his Raigne, in the firſt moneth, and ſuddenly 2. *Chron.* 29. 3. and 36. Hee cared neither for the Philiſtines, nor the king of Aſſyria, both of them riſing againſt him, nor for the Idolaters in the land, but (which was all his policy) he truſted in the Lord God of Iſrael, 2. *Kings* 18. 5. *Cum ratione inſanire.*

Some conceive that becauſe I am a ſtranger, I may ſpeake more freely then others; but for this very cauſe that I am a ſtranger, I am the more ſparing in my expreſſions; Yet this much I may ſay, that there be three things which ſeeme very ſtrange to mee. 1. That any ſhould be found to ſpeake againſt all the Reformed Churches, and to draw Diſciples after them, unleſſe they had great evidence of Scripture, or convincing reaſons for the novations which they would introduce. 2. Although ſome ſuch ariſe, yet it is a wonder that ſo intelligent a people, ſhould be carried away with every winde, and ſcattered into ſo many Sects and diviſions, which is a great ſcandall to Religion, a great ſin and ſhame to ſuch a people, a ſpirituall judgement in it ſelfe, and the cauſe of many other judgements ſpirituall and temporall, and an argument that this miſerable warre is not yet drawing to an end.

3. That reformation is suspended, because the people are distracted: Reformation being the onely meane to reduce them to Unitie.

Use. 3. Confidence in Christ.

The third duty which I recommend, is confidence in Christ against doubting. This was the Apostle *Peter* his weaknesse, both at this time, and afterward, that he doubted, and was afraid, which made him begin to sinke, and there can be no full and through Obedience, without faith and confidence. Two things are necessary for this. 1. Self-deniall, and renouncing all confidence in your selves, or your owne wisdome, courage, strength, or multitudes, all which are but the arme of flesh. *Psalm.* 44. 3, 4, 5, 9, 7, 8. Wisdome will have us to use all good means, but faith will not have us to trust in them. 2. A firm perswasion, and full relying upon Christ, holding the eye of our soul upon him continually. *John* the *Baptist*, *John* 3. 33. useth two words to expresse the nature of faith and confidence; One is קבל *Syr.* קבלה *Cabala*, the word of receiving, which in the Syriack is not every receiving, but a receiving of a Doctrine sent from God, as Divine, and sent from him. The other word is more, חתם *Syr. Obsignavit, concluſit, hath set to his Seal*: when the word is used of God toward us, wee know the meaning, but when it is ascribed unto us in relation to God and his truth, it expresseth the resting of our conscience on the truth of God: that as the Lord sealeth his testimony unto us by the Sacraments, and by his owne Spirit; so upon our part, our faith and affiance sealeth the truth of God, that we acquiesce in it, and close with God, and the matter is concluded betwixt the Lord and our soules. The writing thus sealed can not be reversed, for while the seal is at it, it abides firm, and the seal is keeped by the Lords faithfulnesse, for our benefit. This confidence will make us submit to the will of God, and to say, *I will beare the indignation of the Lord, because I have sinned against him, until he plead my cause, and execute judgement for me: He will bring me forth to the light, and I shall behold his righteousnesse. Then she that is mine enemie shall see it, and shame shall cover her, which said unto me, Where is the Lord thy God? Mic.* 7. 9, 10. *Woe is me, for my hurt, my*

wound

*wound is grievous: but I said, Truly this is a grief, and I must beare it, Jere.*10. 19. This will carry us through all discouragements: because it maketh us to see greater things then the World. It opposeth the wrath of God against the terrors of the world, and the love of God against the love of the world. This assureth us of the presence of Christ in all our troubles, *It is I, be not afraid.* The most terrible word to the enemy, and the most comfortable to the godly. It perswadeth us, that God cannot denie himself, nor forsake his own cause, and for our selves, that although this life, and all things in it should fail us, yet our happinesse waits for us. Therefore my heart is glad, and my glory rejoyceth: my flesh also shall rest in hope, *Psal.*16.9 Much might be spoken here, and to good purpose, of the notes whereby to try our faith and confidence, whether it be weak or strong, and of the means to encrease it, that it may come to a full assurance: but I have troubled you too much already, and therefore I shall only desire, that the recent proof of the mercy of God in our deliverance, may be added to your Calendar of former deliverances, to make your experience the stronger, that your hope and confidence may be the stronger for all time to come.

FINIS.

An Excellent Allegory, taken forth of this History by Augustine *In his* 14. *Sermon, Upon the Words of our* LORD.

AS Christ going to the Mountain to pray, gave commandement to his Apostles, to get into a ship, and to goe to the other side; so after his ascending into heaven at his commandement the Gospel was to be carried through the Sea of this world. As the Ship wherein the Apostles of Christ were Passengers, meeteth with a great tempest: so the Church of Christ sustaineth waves of persecution, and is opposed by the various blasts of hæreticall winds. As the Disciples doe not straightway forsake the Ship, but did toyle in rowing: so the confession of our faith is not to be forsaken, but the teachers of the Church, both by word and writing, in the midst of the contrary windes of the world, and of the blasts of tumultuous Hereticks, are to discharge their office faithfully. Let the

crosse

crosse yard be set up, and Christ crucified, be looked
and let us not make defection from him, but follow his
let us, through suffering and death it self, presse toward
nall glory. Let also white sailes, that is, a pure and honest
versation, be laid hold of. Moreover, although the sea do
the wind withstand strongly, and the surges rise and make
noise, so that the ship be sore tossed, and covered with
waves, yet is shee not drowned, but runneth to the Haven:
may indeed the Church be pressed, but can never be opp
sed: for Christ is praying on high, and beholdeth his
mightily wrestling with the contrary winds: He therefore
tercedeth for them, that their faith fail not, but that they
carry unto the Nations these Noble, but to humane reaso
forein wares of remission of sinnes, and the Kingdome
heaven, through faith in Christ, freely offered to all that
nestly repent, and amend their lives. Furthermore this
Ship shalbe tossed, and float on the water, till the Lord come
who alone is able to make a weighty body to walk upon
face of the liquid element, which shall come to passe about
fourth watch of the night, that is in the end of time, when
night of this world is, almost spent. In the meane while,
though the roaring Sea doe murmur and repine under
feet of the Lord, yet nilling willing, it is constrained to bear
him; so, although the swelling pride and powers of the world
arise together never so high, yet our Head shall trample on
their head. But when Christ cometh neer unto the ship, before
he be clearely seene and known of his owne, he striketh their
hearts with a new terrour, that they seeme to themselves to
see a Ghost: for in the darknes of this night wee are not able
rightly to understand the worke of the Lord: But when the
darknes is scattered, and all the storme calmed, we shall know
him aright, and shall worship him as the true Son of God, our
Redeemer and Saviour. It is our part who do live about the
fourth watch, & upon whom the ends of the world are come,
1. *Cor.* 10. 11. to provide, lest that by the sudden and unlooked
for coming of the Lord, we be surprised and confounded: for
as Christ in one moment, and with one thrust, brought the ship
into the harbour; so before we can look about us or turne our
selves, Exemitie shall come upon us; for the Elects sake the
dayes shall be shortned. *Matth.* 24. 22.

FINIS.

K will Tr. 13

Of Lime, Plimouth, and prize from Eoy we tell,
And of the brave exploit of sir John Gell;
Our Dove from Ireland *doth good newes relate,*
And tells you of the Northern Countries state:
She tells of Massies *victory, and the fall*
Of Minne, *the Colonell, Major Generall.*
From Scotland *divers things she doth rehearse,*
But Doves speake prose, and are not skild in verse.

Be Wise as Serpents, innocent as Doves.

THE SCOTISH DOVE

Sent out, and Returning;

Bringing Intelligence from the Armies, and makes some Relations of other observable Passages of both Kingdoms, for Information and Instruction.

From Friday the 2. of August, to Friday the 9. of August.

YOu may remember I concluded my last weekes Relation with a brief recitation of the Lord Generalls prosperous successe in the West, at *Plimouth, Salt-ash, Lawson, &c.* as also the noble exploit of the brave Garrison of *Lyme*; since which there hath been severall confirmation of those actions, and although I promised this weeke to give

Major General *Lesley* is sent with foure Regiments of Horse to Newcastle, the E. of *Antrim* is entred Scotland with 2500. Irish Rebells; the Parliament of Scotland have declared divers Lords Traitors, the L. *Haddo*, Cap. *Logie*, and two of the *Maxwels* are beheaded at Edenbrough for their rebellion. The King is in *Cornwall* neare to the L. Generalls Armie.

give fuller relation, it would now be an unnecessary performance, the things being obvious; but since then it is certified, that his Excellency (under the conduct of the noble, honest, and active Lord Roberts) sent a party of Horse and Foot into *Cornwall*, to pursue the ruining run-away *Grinvile*, who flyes like guilty *Cain* from every shadow, frighted by his fancies, and tormented by a pricking galled conscience, sore symptomes of misery; hell within, and a halter at *Westminster*, makes the man as mad as a March hunted Hare, the name of *Essex* (or L. Generall) strikes terrour, especially when appointed by God, as his instrument to avenge the Protestant bloud, shed by the hands of perfidious bloud-sucking men. And surely God hath of late done wondrous things for us, no day but hath produced some marvellous work of Gods providence and mercy to his persecuted people, nor shall I erre to say that God alone hath done all for us, for it is most true, and clearly manifest. The props upon which we stayed our selves, have fallen; the men on whom we too much doted, have frustrate our hopes, where least hath bin expected, the greatest things hath bin accomplished; and men of greatest expectation have bin as broken reeds. Tis true; yet I mention it not to eclipse the honour of the honourable, but to exalt God, to whom all honour and glory is due; the more he is honoured, the greater cause we shall have to honour him, we have found it so by happy experience: with men it is not so, sometimes the honour given to men, reflects upon the giver to disadvantage. I have read a story of an ambitious Prelate, who was a long time very studious, diligent, and painfull, seeming to be a self-denyer, till at last he came to dignity and honour, and afterwards became idle, carelesse, and proud; but being by a favourite asked why he was so much changed, and degenerate, he answered, he had now got the key of the Abby, &c. A Story like this was once told me of a Mettle-man, who forged and made edge-tooles, and had not onely good skill to temper his metals, but was very honest in putting in the best, which gained him much credit and wealth; at last he began to abate, and put in that which was worse, saying, that would be well enough accepted, for his name was up, &c. Not to reward vertue were ingratitude, but to reward the shadow is obnoxious. I cannot direct how to discover at all times, in all things, that which is seeming, from that which is reall, but leave it to better and more able judgements. These are but merry tales, yet I wish (if they might in any particular serve for the good of the publick) they were told in some mens care, to whom I would say (as once *Elisha* said to *Gehezi*,

It

Is this a time to receive gifts? so is this a time to seeke private honours, particular estates, riches? &c. let conscience judge; I think I may say, (I am sure I believe it) that the enemy hath not done more mischief to the Parliament and Kingdome, by all their open hostility, then the private designes of seeming friends, self-lovers, ambitious, and covetous have and still doe.

The mercy of God hath been wonderfull to these townes of *Plymouth* and *Lyme*, in their bloudy preservation from the bloody wrath of a most cruell and potent enemy, by long and continued siege, and now enabled them to recompence the enemy, but not in equall; the exploits of *Lyme* against the enemy you had a touch of last week, and since at large by others; for *Plymouth*, they are not onely at liberty but in the field, being (as last week I told you) freed from the enemy by his Excellencies care, are joyned with his Excellencies forces to assist him against the body of the Kings Army, the enemy in *Cornwall* being much dissipated, and not able to give any considerable assistance to his Majesties Army, not prejudice to ours, *Grenvile* being run to *Pendennis Castle*, or the furthest part of *Cornwall*.

Nor hath God refreshed us with good newes out of the West onely, but from all other parts. It is certified by several letters from *Derby* and other places, that Col. *Hastings* hath received a great blow, and losse by some of sir *John Gells* forces, sir *John* being before *Wingfield*, and in great possibility to take it; Col. *Hastings* joyned with some of the forces from *Lichfield* Garrison, and some others had a designe against him, appointed *Burton* upon Trent the place of Rendezvous, which is about the mid way between *Derby* and *Lichfield*, of which sir *John Gell* had knowledge, and made expedition against them, fell on them at *Burton*, and neare *Burton*, and slew many of the enemy, tooke divers prisoners, and about six score Horse. The rest in a breeding disorder ran away to get shelter from that storme where they could but secure themselves; I have been credibly informed by letters that Col. *Pate* was slaine in the skirmish, and the Governour of *Lichfield* mortally wounded, being shot in the belly.

Before I come to tell you of the blessings bestowed on the North, I will acquaint you with our joyfull newes from *Ireland*, though but briefly so joyfull as it puts new life into a languishing and almost dead Kingdome, like as the Message by the Angel to *Abraham* and *Sarah*, in promising them a Son in their old and dying age, a being a mercy beyond expectation, if naturall causes or meanes be only considered; but that all the world may see and acknowledge that it is God, and

not man that carrieth on this worke, for his Churches Reformation, and his enemies destruction; he is pleased to worke by meanes contrary to mans expectation, and to take the wicked in their owne snare, making their cunningest plots to be their owne ruine.

By a letter written from the City of *Cork* in *Ireland*, signed by the *L. Inchequen*, and others of good quality and command, directed to the Parliament of *England* assembled at *Westminster*, certifying that all the Protestant party in the province of *Munster* are resolved with one consent, unanimously as one man to make opposition against the bloudy *Irish* Rebells, and their hellish cut-throat Cessation, contrived by the murdering Iesuites, to exterpate the Protestant Religion in that kingdome both roote and branch; the consideration hereof together with the late blondy massacre of some hundred thousands of the Protestants: and the complyance those Rebells have with the Court, makes them sensible of their future and present ruine, except timely prevented; and therefore refuse to obey the Cessation late made by the King with the Rebells, aleaging it is against his Majesties Oath, and Act of Parliament in that Kingdome, except by consent of Parliament. They sensible of their present ill condition, and the designe against them, doe (with acknowledgment that the Parliament of *England* hath done much for them) implore their further assistance, as well to maintaine their Garrisons, as to enable them to take the field with an Army against those Rebells; against whom they are resolved to hazard their lives and estates, although they have no assistance but themselves; resolving rather to dye like men, then to be butchered like beasts. They have sent a Declaration to publish to the world the reasons and causes of this their resolution, and the dangerous consequence of the cessation and peace with those rebells, together with their Appology for yeelding to his Majesties command in the said cessation at the first, and their thoughts of it, &c. It is also certified by other letters, that the English and Scotch forces from *Ulster* are advanced with an Army of 12000. of Foot and Horse into the Province of *Lemster*, and are in a faire march towards the City of *Dublin*. It is not probable the Rebells will, (nor can) keepe touch with his Majesty, in sending over so many into England as he expected, or they promised: nor can the Rebells easily satisfie their rage against the English and Scotch in *Ulster*, the power of God can restraine all their wrath; and in this we see that *he can turn the wrath of the wicked to his praise, and the remainder of wrath he will restraine.* Neither Power, nor Will is wanting in God to make this

this good to us, if we would humbly and heartily seeke him by Re-formation, and thankfulnesse; surely never did any Nation or people see or feele more of Gods love, and abonsdant mercy them *England* hath done, no not the Nation or people of the seede of *Israel*; and not onely in many former miraculous deliverances, but even at this day, while his hand is justly upon us, and we in the furnace of affliction; surely the drosse onely shall perish, but the Gold shall be purified; his people shall be made better, and the wicked of the Land, with the Idolaters shall be cut off. If we will turne unto God, *and believe in him, we shall be established, if we will beleeve his Word, and hearken to his Prophets, and Ministers* (sent from him to us) *we shall prosper*; God will set ambushments against our enemies, *Ammon, Moab*, and *Mount-seir* shall be smitten, and all our enemies shall fall before us; but if we will not beleeve neither his Word, nor his Workes, but still retaine our sins, *and walke contrary to God, he will yet punish us seven times more*; by the Sword, by the Famine, and by the Pestilence, till he have consumed this generation, and cut them off from their habitations, and from the good Land, &c.

From the North it is certified that Generall *Lesley* is designed for New-castle, and intends by the assistance of the Divine Providence to make that his next businesse to take in that Town, which is already besieged by the Earle of *Calender*; I dispaire not to heare very good newes from thence shortly, but I desire that we all will with patience wait Gods leasure; let us not limit the Almighty, his owne time is the best for us, we have hitherto found it so, and doubtlesse shall doe still. They have taken *Stockton*, the seat of the Bishoprick of *Durham*, a considerable and strong Garrison; as also the strong Towne and Garrison of *Hartlepoole*, which is a very good Harbour, and very commodious and advantggious to our affaires, as now it is prejudiciall to the enemy. For the Earle of *Manchesters* Army, and the Lord *Fairfax*, with the rest, I shall give you some account before you come to the end of my sheet, which I deser, something being ambiguous which I desire to be resolved in. The resolute Gentleman Colonell *Rochester* doth very good service in the County of *Lincolne*, and against the sallies and excursions of the enemy in their bordering quarters, as lately he did against *Newarke*, *Beaver*, and others, &c.

That pernitious theevish Garrison (or denne of Theeves) at *Banbury* is straightned, there being both Horse and Foot from *Northampton* before it, and some from *Coventry*, or *Warwicke*, Captaine

Joha

John Stanes is also there with two troopes of new raised Horse, these keepe in the Vipers from forraging, but have not besieged the Towne nor Castle but at distance, it is a place easie taken, and other more considerable strength will shortly be with them.

Colonell *Massey* that honest active Gentleman, whom I love and honour, yet know not his face, his actions praise him, therefore I love him; he (else I am deceived) strives to doe actions of honour, rather then to have honour, or to be honoured, therefore I shall honour him. This brave Colonell having drawne out a party of Horse and Foot, marcht out towards *Rumbely Castle* upon an intended designe, but was prevented by the enemy, by a counter Designe against him, by surprising some cattle neer Glocester, or other plunder that might either advantage themselves, or prejudice him, either by carrying away, or by spoiling, they being a very considerable number exceeding his; but he having notice of them made shift his designe to prevent their purpose. The enemy was commanded by Colonell *Mynn*, so soone as Colonell *Massey* came neere he set out his forlorne hope, and presently charged the enemy, and forc't the enemy to give ground, and at last to run; he slew at least one hundred in the place, he tooke prisoners twice as many, and divers Horse, and their Armes; Colonell *Mynn* is slaine, and divers Officers, and seven Captaines, besides other Officers were taken prisoners. The diligent care of this valiant Gentleman in preserving the Country from those Rogues all spoylers, hath so much won the affections of the people, that had he Armes (I am credibly informed) he could have men as many as he desired. Colonell *Brayne* is shortly going downe to the Forrest of Dean, onely Armes are wanting, and is some impediment, else all the Inhabitants would follow him as one man.

It is certified by a letter from the Lord Admirall that there are five ships taken as they were going out from Foy very richly laden, also there are store of Armes come in to *Falmouth* for the King, but how his Majesty will be Master of them I know not, for the Lord Generall is between his Majesty and them. By letters from his Excellency is certified that the King with *Mowbray*, *Hopton*, and all the strength of the Westerne parts are joyned, and are marcht toward his Excellency, the Armies were the second of this instant within ten or twelve miles one of the other; what reserve is appointed I cannot say, but if some considerable strength be not sent to waite on the Kings Armies in the reare, an opportunity is likely to be lost; the businesse is of very great concernment, and admits no delay; I pray

God

God stir up mens hearts, and fight his owne battells. We have no cause to distrust God, but it will be too much presumption to omit any possible meanes of supplyes.

Prince *Rupert* is in *Chester*, he is diligent to make his recrutes, some he gets, and some he loseth, for many are gone from him lately; yet some letters from some men of knowledge and quality affirme he is 7000. strong, Armes and Ammunition are wanting with them, and probably before they get supply they may have cause to spend that they have. *Liverpoole* is besieged, and the *Lancashirians* are by this day gotten into the field, sir *William Brereton* is now in *Lancashire*, and if my intelligenne be right, he intends to march from thence very shortly towards *Chester*.

There are two Petitions presented by the City to the Parliament, the one for a speedy execution upon Delinquents, the other, that there may be provision taken for the payment of the debts owing to honest men, by those malignant delinquents whose Lands are to be sold; and there was a satisfactory Answer given to both these Petitions, that care should be taken therein.

The French Agent that is here in *London* hath made addresse to the House of Commons, by the name of *the Commons Assembled in the Parliament of England at Westminster*, desiring to have a day assigned him for audience, which was also appointed that a day should be set for that purpose.

It is probable that there will be Propositions of Peace very shortly tendered to his Majesty from the Parliament, and the Committee of both Kingdomes, if but the least hopes appeare to them of acceptance; but if his Majesty be engaged to his malignant counsell not to accept of any but upon their conditions, it will be in vaine to tender them; if his Majesty be not engaged to them, why doth he onely adhere to them, oppose his Parliament, destroy his Subjects, and ruine his Kingdoms, notwithstanding all the offers of duty formerly made; onely it will yet cleare the Parliaments Innocency, and shew the world where the fault is, and who are enemies to peace.

Prince *Rupert* with 2000. Horse is marched over at *Hallesford* into *Cheshire*, and hath sent North-ward all the rest of his Army; his Horse under the command of *George Goring*, and his Foot are commanded by the L. *Clavering* (a new made Lord) whose estate lyes in *Northumberland*; their designe is to Array the Northern Countries, and to hinder the reducing of *Newcastle* by the Earle of *Callender*, who is now lying on *Gate-side Hill* before *Newcastle*; sir *Thomas Glenham*

Lambert, with the forces that came out of Yorke is also gone Northward sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, to raise all the men they can.

Vpon the 30. of July the Earle of *Manchester*, Generall *Lesley*, and sir *Thomas Fairfax*, with the Commissioners from the Parliament that are appointed to joyne with the Scottish Army, met all at *Ferry-bridge*, to consult how to dispose their Armies; Generall *Lesley* and the Committee of Estate of *Scotland* (since they were come into this Kingdom according to the Covenant) have declared, and although they were not to be dispensed or without their consent, yet freely declare, that therein they would be silent, and would leave wholly to the disposse of the Earle of *Manchester*, and the Commissioners of Parliament, whom they thinke most advantagious for the affaires of the Kingdom; those things so much to be *Manchester-House*, for the service of the Kingdome they were sent for. After some serious debate it was resolved, that the Scottish Army should march Northward, to hinder the enemies designe, in raising of more forces in the Northern Countries, and to reduce the forces of *Rupert*, under the command of *Goring*, sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, L. *Clavering*, and *Glenham*, as also to accomplish the reducing of the Town of *Newcastle*, without which the City of *London* and those parts must needs be straightned for want of fuell. Besides, if they should march Northward, *Newcastle* would either be reduced, or the Siege of the Scottish Army greatly endangered, and the whole North which with great labour and travell hath been gained, might againe be lost.

Secondly it was resolved, that the L. *Fairfax* should take care of *York* shire, and send 1000. horse into *Lancashire*, to joyne with the forces of that County, *Cheshire* and *Derbyshire* for the reducing of the rest of *Prince Ruperts* forces.

Thirdly, it was agreed that the Earl of *Manchester* should march into *Lincolnshire*, and there to recruite his Army from his own Association, that he may be the better enabled to attend the directions of the Committee of both Kingdomes at *Westminster*.

And lastly it was agreed, that where ever the Scottish Army should be, that upon notice thereof any or all of the three Armies should be ready to joyne each other. After these their resolutions, the Generalls next day went to their severall quarters, not without griefe at their parting.

Thursday the first of August generall *Lesley* sent Major Generall *Leven* with three Regiments of Horse, and one Regiment of Dragoones, for the present to the Northern Counties from the Enemy, and the assistance of the Earl of *Calender*.

The Earl of *Antrim* with 2500. souldiers of the Irish Rebels are landed at *Argyle* in *Scotland*, he catched the opportunity of getting over, when the Earle of *Monrose*, with his Army towards *Dublin*. The noble Marquis fleet after him, and catched our against them, he knowes how to scatter Rebels he did it so lately, and no doubt by Gods assistance he will give a good account of his Service against them.

The Parliament of *Scotland* have declared the Earl of *Montrosse*, *Traquaire*, *Crawford*, *Aboyne* and *Ogleby* to be Traitors, and confiscate their estates. Also the chief sticklers in the late rebellion in the North, viz. the L. *Haddington* Son with two of the *Maxwells*, that had a great hand in the rebellion in the West were beheaded at the Crosse in *Edenbrough*. The L. *Mackyes* Son hath married L. of *Drumm* the younger, another of the chief actors in the rebellion in the North and hath received the reward promised by the Estates to any that should take him viz. 1000. l. sterling. Vpon the 25. of July past there was a day of publique thanksgiving *in Scotland* for Gods mercy in the great victory against P. *Rupert*. The Army is marched with his whole Army into *Cornwall*, (*Ammon* and *Moab* are joyned together) and they were lately at a Town called *Lanceston*; the L. Generall expects a battle very shortly; I pray God to fight for his own cause against all his enemies, and let all Gods people say, *Amen*.

Printed according to Order for L. C. 1644.

4

THE RESTITVTION OF REPROBATES.

by the Lady Davis & Eleanor

Malac: 3.

Behold I will send my messenger, &c.

July 23 · London

Printed in the Yeare, 1644.

BRITISH MUSEUM

A

GENERALL PARDON

for Reprobate *Rebels*, all of them:

Their *reſtitution*, as authoriz'd & affirm'd;

Math. 18. *ELIAS truly ſhall firſt come and reſtore all things.*

AND before the great and dreadfull *day* of the *Lords* comming: VVhen ſent that *Prophet* which for a *ſigne* of it, foreſhewing what *Plagues* with; *He will ſmite them*, and truly never greater knowne, then at this very

time: So take this into consideration, as *probable* as other things, before they *come to passe*; For *Mercy*, and *Judgements* going together, *in these last dayes reveal'd.*

The time being come *of the end then* and no more occasion to continue threatning any longer, *and terrifyings* against wickedness amongst *VS* here raignning, with that prohibited old proverbe out of date: *The fathers have eaten sower grapes, and the childrens teeth set an edge.* Shall cansell that oppinion of old, of Hell to be a place or prison without redemption, as it stands not intruth well with *Equitie*, where *mercy* is so *unmeasurable* for the offence of our first deceived parents; *Who knew not what they did:* That for their *cause*, so many without compassion, and com-

mis-

miſſeration, utterly ſhould be *undon* & *caſt away*, whereas *SODOM* for ſo few, their ſakes had beene ſpair'd when *preſt*, ſhall not the Judge of all the world doe right?

But, for this redemption of *theirs*; however ſeeming a thing of *impoſſibilitie*: Yet *nothing unpoſſible with GOD, or too hard for him in his time.*

Take, and receive theſe miſticall words to your *comfort* all of you: ſaying, *Whoſoever ſhall ſpeake a word againſt the ſonne of man, it ſhall be forgiven: But blaſpheming againſt the Holy-Ghoſt, neither in this world, nor the world to come ſhall be forgiven.*

But ſhall be in danger of eternall Hell-fire: To wit, though puniſhment inevitable, yet the *perpetuitie* in ſuſpence;

as by the word DANGER, given to understand.

And *furthermore*, as given under the same hand for their *release* or *new pardon* seal'd here with this saying also. *Yee have heard it said of old time, Whosoever shall kill, shall be in danger of a judgement. But I say unto you, whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause, shall be in danger of a judgement: And whosoever shall say to his brother Racha, shall be in danger of a counsell. And whosoever shall say Foole, shall be in danger of Hell fire.* Whereby as here possible sometimes for old sayings to be *disanul'd* and *revok'd*, so the day of *judgements very case*, how reviled and menaced the tidings, with a great *councell* or *high court*, faireing both alike, foreshew-

ſhewed likewiſe *reproachfully* ſtiled by their *Enemies*, in this moſt ſtrick and ſevere *Sermon*, handled, *or* ſet forth *upon the Mountaine, &c.* concluded with *mercy* being ſhewed; Nevertheleſſe, appointed for *Reprobates, and Rebells both.*

Etſi ſalutaveritis fratres veſtros tantum quid amplius facitis & ethnici hoc faciunt, &c. Even their charge, as by the miſticall name *Racha* expreſt, how brethren miſſecalling one another, as it were high *treaſon*, and *blaſphemy* no leſſe.

And here *beati pauperes*, *beati mites*, *&c.* with *GOD* in ſuch eſteeme, the diſpiſed by the world, and they on the other ſide receiving their *conſolation* here, ſuch an impoſſibilitie for them to *eſcape torment, as for an Elephant*, or *Camell*,

mell, to goe through the Eye of an needle: Then the leaſt *of his words*, not lightly to be ſet by ſo needfull, where ſuch may be proud, to be the *leaſt* in that *Kingdome* or *Court*, any *doore keeper* or the like : VVhoſe word gives light in this darkneſſe, for that *gulfe* between *VS* and them, to be a paſſage to *Life* through thoſe ſtraits, &c. *As hee able to bind and looſe*, and ſo with *Paul* able to ſay ; *Sirs, be of good cheere, for GOD is as good ever as His* word, yee are but *in jeopardie of eternall Hell-fire.*

And thus as no light in many dayes apppeared, then in his dangerous *voyage and ſayling ſlowly*, even like thoſe *priſoners*, though in ſo much danger, yet eſcaped *drowning* and *killing*, both

(*Acts*) ſo in that hopeleſſe eſtate of theirs whoſe Anchors as it were *cut off*, for that *capitall offence*, the *ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt*, tis poſſible with *GOD* to pardon it, to releaſe them of thoſe chains ſeeming endleſſe.

So againe, this for another, *Verily I ſay unto thee, thou ſhalt by no meanes come forth thence untill paid the uttermoſt farthing*. The veritie of which place of *Scripture*: So wreſted for *Purgatory*, thoſe fictions founded or laid thereon overthrowing that principle: *Who ſhall lay any thing to the charge of Gods elect?* Therefore no other way but this to overthrow that: as in truth concerning utter darkeneſſe intended the utmoſt *mite* paid to be there: and not extended in that groſſe manner, for

mell, to goe through the Eye of an needle: Then the leaſt *of his words*, not lightly to be ſet by: ſo needfull, where ſuch may be proud, to be the *leaſt* in that *Kingdome* or *Court*, any *doore keeper* or the like: VVhoſe word gives light in this darkneſſe, for that *gulfe* between *VS* and them, to be a paſſage to *Life* through thoſe ſtraits, &c. *Are hee able to bind and looſe*, and ſo with *Paul* able to ſay; *Sirs, be of good cheere, for GOD is as good ever as His* word, yee are but *in jeopardie of eternall Hell-fire.*

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(*Acts*)

Acts) so in that hopelesse estate of heirs whose Anchors as it were *cut off*, for that *capit all offence*, the *sin against the Holy Ghost*, tis possible with *GOD* to pardon it, to release them of those chains seeming endlesse.

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concerning utter darkenesse intended the utmost *mite* paid to be there: and not extended in that grosse manner, for

theſe ſoules juſtified by GOD: To make Marchandiſe of them, cryed up and down, and ſold as *Romes* Kitchin-ſtuffe, &c.

And thus farre for clearring that miſtake of *utter darkneſſe*, taken for that third *place*. So here ſhall not paſſe over, his *being taken up into the third heaven*: there heareing things not lawfull to be utterd, that Apoſtle made of GODS counſell. Beſide the *Reſurrections* miſtery ſhewed him, even this very Thing, heard the ſame, as moſt probable of *Reprobation* and *Election*. The diſpute whereof prohibited: VVith *what art thou O man, made of clay, to queſtion thy Maker, Quid me feciſti ſic?* And ſo a thing of too high a *Nature* then to be

publi-

publiſh'd, reſerv'd for the worlds laſt time: And *thou as duſt thou art*, and to *duſt diſolv'd*; Likewiſe all reduced to their firſt eſtate, as all things very good in the beginning, therefore *returne and live, &c.* and in a day the *world made*, no more *times without* their determined *Bounds and precincts*, all things at once manifeſted, neither the very *Diſciples* forbears to ſatisfie them in ſome *caſes*. Saying, *He had many things to ſay unto them*, which they could not beare at that time: *That in his Fathers Houſe were many Manſions*, (to witt) *privie Chambers and Cloſits* and the like, how officious ſo ever they were to be informed, as that for one. VVhen the time of reſtoreing againe the Kingdome to *Iſrael*, *Acts* 1. Chap.

And although their laſt ſuite yet put *backe* as it were with theſe, *Yee know not of what ſpirit yee be*, In taking *ELIAS* office upon you: Or tis *not for you to know times and ſeaſons which the father hath put in his own power. But the power of the Holy Ghoſt ſhall come upon you.* Linguæ tanquam ignis, ſuper ſingulos, &c.

And againe requeſted another time to know what ſhould be the ſigne of his ſecond comming, were put off with thoſe unwellcome tokens, &c. bidden to watch, becauſe the day and houre unknown, a reſerved *point*, and yet nothing *cover'd, which ſhall not be reveal'd*, as much to ſay, the *Apocalyps* or *Revelation*, that ſevenfold ſealed Booke which no man *could ſo much as looke*

looke upon, &c. And his ſealed Commiſsion he bidden goe thy way *Daniel* for the words till the end are cloſed up, &c. even how long twas to end, which he longed ſo to underſtand.

And ſo ſtill preſt, *Lord are there many that ſhall be ſaved,* are commanded to ſtrive themſelves *to enter at the ſtraite gate,* ſent as it were to *Noahs* Cabin doore; when ſaved thoſe few ſoules, a *cold comfort,* had it not included the miſtery of *Noahs* time, the Goſpells progreſſe paraleld by thoſe dayes before the flood ſhortned alſo or cut off, came ſhort of 2000. yeares *&c.*

And thus for thoſe hungry ſoules, craving the leaſt crumbe or drop of mercy falling from our table, have gathered up theſe multiplied fragments

for them, *whose multitude as the sand of the sea*: GOG and MAGOG, shewing His unlimitted plentifull Redemption.

And in no wise, *So much as a tittle of these blessed words to be lost, or cast away, &c. Blessed is he that hath his part in the first Resurrection, for on such the second death hath no power.* Inferring for all such having bin partakers of the second death, to have a second resurrection: *Therfore return and live, for as I live I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked*, saith *the Lord*: Ezekiel, &c. *for all soules are mine, &c.* So Satans being bound a Thousand yeeres, even seales a *finite* or *fixt* time, including beside *Hell* in the *last dayes*, (as it were) broken loose, also the generall delivery or loosing of the damned at last.

For

For above reach, *as his Mercy exceeds in height, ſo his Judgements in depth,* difficult to ſearch into them. Let this *ſuffice* therefore, from *Lazarus* finger ſo much, though *much* more the Scripture affords, for *Iſhmaels* comfort & his brethren, *of the Concubine: and thus as when God opened her eies and ſhe ſaw a ſpring, Gen. &c.* The *free womans ſonne being* none of *them,* ſtands in no need of the *water of life with them.*

But *theſe* their *portion falne from* the table of *Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob,* ſitting in the *Kingdome of Heaven, reſerv'd for thoſe very Hell-hounds of Cerberus; rathter then Abrahams ſeed*: Although calls *Him,* Sonne; *remember that THOU in thy Life time, &c.*

And *here* one *drop more, falne from that*

that Sopp given Him, that Arch-Blood-Sucker *Judas*, though ſpeaking on this wiſe, Good had it been *for that had he never been borne.* Yet *HEE* having *a being before his birth*, is not *depriv'd of* that eſtate, though *borne Never.* Therefore not *diſinherited utterly but* in ſtate of *Salvation*, nevertheleſſe at laſt, *for whoſe* too late *Repentance, Hell of old prepared for Him, where a Million of times Not too many for ſuch, &c.*

And thus *much for them, whoſe dolefull language of deſperation, that* good man *whoſe* name was *Iob*, ſeemes to *borrow* and *reſtor'd alſo*: Saying, *Shall we receive good from the hand of the Lord, and ſhall we not receive evill? Borne* under *the* ſame planit, as it were *with them*

or

or very ſencible *of their* eſtate, *powrs forth* like ample, *execrations* upon the day and houre *of* his *Nativitie*, that *diſmale day*, all the maledictions under the Sunne impoſed *thereon, like the day of Judgement; ſentenced to ſuch utter darkneſſe*: teſtifies, *though he knowes his Redeemer lives*, and ſaying: *Therefore have I utter'd that which I underſtand not*, Things *too wonderfull for me, which I knew not.* (Job 42.) And *Nebuchadnezar his* excellent Maieſtie? That after ſo many times gon over *him, was* reſtored, come to be himſelfe in the end, as he had come out of Hell *in their ſlaviſh Condition, and as the day of Judgements Alarme had beene affrighted ſo, that was driven away*, &c.

And thus his wayes equale, as this

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or very sencible *of their* estate, *powrs forth* like ample, *execrations* upon the day and houre *of* his *Nativitie*, that *dismale day*, all the maledictions under the Sunne imposed *thereon, like the day of Judgement, sentenced to such utter darknesse*: testifies, *though he knowes his Redeemer lives*, and saying: *Therefore I utter'd that which I understand not, things too wonderfull for me, which I know not.* (Job 42.) And *Nebuchadnezzar* his excellent Maiestie? That after many times gon over *him, was* restored, come to be himselfe in the end, as had come out of Hell *in their slavish condition, and as the day of Judgements Alarme hadbeene affrighted so, that was driven away*, &c.

And thus his wayes equale, as this

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most *proper* to be done by that *Sex*: a VVoman being the occasion of the worlds woe and undoeing: *Therefore this PLAISTER or PARDON* by a *Womans hand*; shewing after condigne punishment, *the reward of sin, He the propitiation of the whole world*, and not the *Elects only*, saying: *Father forgive them they know not what they doe*, as proclamed on the crosse, *that last Petition or prayer of his*. And if they forgiven, the *Actors* and *Authors* of that most horrid *crime*, and abominable *blasphemy*, of all others that could plead *ignorance* leaft: His *Brethren the Iewes for so many good turnes, such ungratfullnesse returning*, doubtlesse others *of seventy times seven forgiveneſſe* better worthy, *then they of seven times*.

But

But the light, *an evill ſight overcomming: ſo he their ſtumbling Blocke became a rocke of offence:* Thus ſtocke blinde, and ſtuborne harted the world by *Nature:* though that day as *amazed* or *aſhamed,* borrows the nights vayle, and departed Ghoſts reſtleſſe; Leaveing *their graves below,* and comming forth, yet know not what they have done to this day: When *Cains murthering his only brother, and Iſhmaels deridings and the like;* But as a *gnate* to a *Camel or Elephant*: And like a *graine of muſtardſeed with a Mountaine* weigh'd; or to be compar'd.

Whoſe figure or prototype *accurſed Caine* ſent forth, *baniſhed from the preſence of GOD ſaying, his puniſhment was greater then could be borne;* like theſe

Vagabone fugitive people ever ſince, *Having circumciſions marke.* And thus their *Pardon* folded up firſt in HIS: That *by the LORD had a* Marke *ſet upon him* alſo:

And ſo farre for Marks of a Future forgiveneſſe, for the whole VVorld, &c. from *Adam* to the VVorlds end: Even as that Salutation, *peace and good will towards men proclaim'd at His* firſt *Coming* or *Arrivall*: ſo a Larges before his ſecond Coming, for ſuch in utter Darkneſſe, ſetting in *the ſhadow of* Eternall perdition, for their enlargement at Laſt, &c.

And *Eloi Eloi*, as one forſaken &c. not without a twofold ſignification truly (to wit) *Yee ſhall not ſee me till yee ſay, Bleſſed is he that comes in* the *Name*

of

of the Lord, the name of *Elias* being not farre from *Eli* or Lord, *as* they came very neer it: Saying, *Let us see if Elias will come, &c. In whose likenesse or forlorne estate: of a truth, Lazarus set forth* how it fares with the *Prophets*. *John* for example put in prison; and others, &c.

And for the gulfe, as in truth signifying a space of time, betweene our Resurection & theirs, so *that* even the water of life begg'd but to coole *his* scorched tongue: And thus *that Prophet, the Lords second messenger, stiled by his name* (*Elias*,) because before the change, not tasting death, but taken up alive, like him the resurections figure: and with *Elijah* going on saying: *As thy soule lives, I will not leave thee*, here posting away briefly shewing his pro-

greſſe: *The Prince of life ſhal relate ſomewhat of his ſermon beſtowed upon thoſe diſobedient ſpirits*, impriſon'd ſometimes in *Noahs daies* (*Peter* 2. chap.) *Who certainly wold not have afforded them the high favour of his preſence*: Had *he intended to* caſt them away utterly, as ſhe told her husband. *If the Lord had meant or been pleaſed to kill us, He would not have ſhewd us all theſe things, Judg. &c.*

Thus he the Iudge of quicke and dead, declaring the vayle, &c. not taking away of their attonement: then *was clothed in a cloude*, as this likeneſſe in moſt probable did appeare: (*Revel.* 10.) *Crown'd with the Raine Bow, his Feet as pillars of fire, a little booke in His hand open*, the Goſpell all fulfilled &c.

By

By whoſe poſture or ſtanding, *ſetting* HIS *right* Foote *on the Water, the left on the land*: giveing to underſtand the Goſpels pilgrimage, or preaching how long to continue by *Sea* and *Land*, before publiſhed through the VVorld, and before the flood That time, as afore ſhewed, ſo the worlds laſt Age paced forth thereby. The *Arke* Baptiſmes *figure*, when a few ſaved; wherefore ſaid: *So ſhall the* Comming *of the ſonne of man, be as the dayes of Noah alſo*: According to that paterne, which dayes comming ſhort of two thouſand yeares, likewiſe this aſſured to be ſhortned; And therefore no marvell Since amongſt us ſuch VVatch kept by all. The LORD having watched over *US*, to bring this evill upon *US*, even at their wits end:

which

which remember not the end, nor regard at all His tokens.

And so decending amongst *them those* disobedient, &c Haveing in his hand *Gods word*, as much to say: *I am the word of God: Alpha and Omega. And without the word made nothing that was made according to all Equitie*, have made good all saylings, to witt, upon his own innocent person, hath taken the faults of all the world, *as none but one good*: And thus like them stange by *firy Serpents*, by the signe of the Serpent were cured and healed: Againe. Our first parent *not being* learned or hindred *of the tree of Knowledge*, because so requisit *it* to let them know themselves, though *Satan* never the more to be excused in the discovery of their naked estate.

And

And ſo theſe words at Laſt, &c. *father forgive them &c.* Though expreſt in the voice of that Time preſent, yet *extends to pardoning* of all *Adams preginie*: VVhoſe ignorance or *Errour* not imputed to the utter ruine of the whole *World*.

And as that *Apoſtle* heard Things *unutterable*: Alſo in this of *theirs*, (a Thing as difficult to expreſſe it: *viz.* Their *releaſe*, *Pardon'd* after their being puniſh'd ſo:) in reſpect of the word, *Everlaſting and Perpetuall*; an ordinary word indeed, as in the Cerimoniall *LAW*: thoſe call'd *perpetuall Statutes afterward aboliſhed*. And ſo all *fulfilled &c.*

And thus like *that Cloudy robe*; theſe

in a Miſtery folded up, *opened here, or diſcloſed*: Their future eſtate of *Bliſſe*, and *Reſtitution*, a Thouſand times happie in the *End, that ſhall ſee* GOD; *Though a thouſand Yeeres, or Times*: *puniſhment to indure, in that hot* BATH *or* BOYLING Lake *for the purging of their* boyles *and* ſoares *to be cleanſed of them*, as *Origin* that Father partly his Opinion, caſt out of the Churches favour for his paines, by whom *Origin all ſinnes purgation held by this way* expiated, &c.

And *Purgatory* having thus undermined: Yet reſts another wall between *US* and *THE M*; as requiſit to be caſt down, and one figurative *ſpeech opening another* :- Her's one reſerv'd for *ELIAS* comming :- *As*

bold

bold as a LYON, His riddle: *Out of the Eater, came forth MEATE: And out of the Strong, came forth Sweetneſſe*: Signifying even the Ovens-mouth: And the *Barrell* or *Butt*, its Ribbs *or* Belly, &c. *The bread and wine in the Sacrament*, viz: And thus *Samſon eate of the ſame ſpirituall meate, and dranke of the ſame ſpirituall drinke.*

And alſo of this *Ambiguous word* (till) a VVord of it for example, in *Matth. the firſt*, not without ſome reſerv'd meaning: knowne to the *Holy Ghoſt by whom SHE conceived*, ſince *HEE* without doubt did never know Her: Although ſhewed, HEE knew Her Not, *till ſhe had brought forth Her firſt borne Sonne:*

And ſo againe, in a double ſence contrary to the former: *Goe thy way*

DANIEL, *for the words are closed up, till the time of the end*; where though it rests doubtfull before the end, whether disclosed at all, *those words*: yet ther's *hope* left, &c.

Nor stands for a *Cypher* here either: *And his* Lord *delivered him to the Tormentors, till paid all was due, &c.* That is to say: *till the utmost minuite there, that* Mite *of time expired, due to* Sinne.

Hereupon the Apostles not in vain saying, *Lord increase our FAITH*: As some new *Article* were added to their *Beleife* (*Luke* 17.) upon that &c. *I say unto* Thee, *Not untill seven times: But untill seventy times seven times: And what yee binde and loose on earth, shall bee bound and loosed in Heaven, &c.*

Spoken not to *Peter*: By him *having the keyes of* Death *and* Hell: For such

ſuch intent, for this prerogative of His to be wreſted: That Legions ſuch of *Pardons* ſhould bee bought up, as ſold by His *Succeſſors*; able quench at their pleaſure that Fire: As many poſſeſt with a beliefe thereof, for thoſe *keyes of* ſuppoſed *purgatory* reſting in their *power* or *Cuſtodie*.

In truth whereas intended by the *Holy Ghoſt* to concerne the *Commiſſion* of *Apoſtles* and *Prophets*, thoſe words of ſuch *Extent* and *Latitude*, the *Holy Ghoſts* meaning being able to explaine it, ſent Therefore. *Peter* 1. *And hope to the End, for the Grace that is to be brought unto you at the revelation of* Ieſus Chriſt.

By the Lady

ELEANOR:

FINIS.

 And

AND ſo to make toward the *ſhore* (or end this) theſe broken peeces offered or imparted here, taken out of the flowing Scripture: *As when all hope that they ſhould be ſaved was taken away: Yet in Romes dangerous voyage eſcaped all, Acts, &c.* So making no doubt when in ſuch a fearfull eſtate ſo many, but theſe hopfull *WORDES* will be no leſſe embraced by them whoſe part in *Etnas* unquenchable *Gulfe* ſo deepe were, although the fire everlaſting and eternall, And where the never dying VVorme and the like: Nevertheleſſe implies or proves not their pains to be of like nature, and that God is implacable or not to be intreated, which God forbid.

NOVV

NOw a larger PARDON: ſo who can with, or imagin to *make* then Theſe? *Who ſo ſpeakes a* VVord *againſt the* Sonne *of man, &c. ALL* Blaſphemies *and* Sinnes *ſoever forgiven the* Sons *of men*: *Math.* 12. *Mark. Luke*: no doubt able upon true *repentance* made in *aſhes*, mingled *with teares*: (*That precious gift*) *for to remit, &c*:

And one of the ſecond *Table*, that Commandement *Thou ſhalt not kill*: like as it refined and alter'd: (*Math:*) Even he the *Law-Maker and fulfiller both*; what *fine* ſoever, or *pain* impoſed by old daies *but in terror*: *In former* Ages *he likewiſe able, as the ſecond death, That alſo to change & abate it.*

And *Nothing then impoſſible with Him*, although in the higheſt degree; *The unſpeakable offence againſt the Holy*

Ghoſt

Ghost, though Left without forme (as it were) *and voyde* : The pardoning of it yet, verily a Thing not only possible (as appeares) by these words of *his* added to the former ; *But shall bee of Eternall damnation in danger* : BVT VERY CERTAINE, for *Reprobates* after due punishment, undergon to be released from utterdarknesse, and pardon all at the Last: since as much given from his mouth, *That made every thing so very good in the beginning.* The least tittle of whose words and sayings Not in vaine, *Then dangerous not a little, to make Them utterly voyde,* as to miscall what GOD hath cleansed out of a dangerousnesse and Nicenesse, to make it a common thing abstaining from it, alike to disalow what the *Holy Ghost* hath Cleer'd and Licensed.

And

And now lawfull, that which without *Blaſphemy heretofore, could not be diſputed*, to wit in iudging of GODS waies, *whether equall or no*, ſince the wicked (*Adams* Children for *His* diſobedience:) not left in *Hell*, but in ſtate of *Redemption*, as without doubt alſo: *That of the two debtors reflects on all*, both frankly forgiven.

Although inſtanced in *ADAM and EVES caſe* thoſe two, &c. VVhen ~~he that charge forgetting~~ himſelfe ſo mu[illegible] *ſo mildly Him reproved*, who as one beholding to none or, *no Phyſition needed, and* being *diſpleaſed* for her Repaire to the Houſe, *therefore* was *bidden to goe in peace.*

Delivered *that was at once of ſo many ſpirits or* DIVELS, *that diſpoſeſſed Woman* whereby forbids any to *murmur*

and *grudge* at his goodneſſe, HEE giving to the *firſt* and *laſt* both, *Even forgiveneſſe*: So take heed leaſt HEE have ſomewhat to ſay unto Thee alſo: Or ſhould but ſay, *take what thine is, and goe thy way, &c. An non licet mihi? &c.* Mat. 20. 15.

NOVV here with this not unlawfull Newes and Tydings, a degree above their *purgatory Pardon*: Being not ignorant of old Diſtinctions, between the *Sufficient* and *Efficient cauſe*, as all conſtran'd to confeſſe for the whole worlds ſin his ſuffering alſufficient, whoſe Soule taſted of very *Hell*.

Though no corruption ſaw, Nor of that difference, either unwitting between the cauſe and the occaſion, Nor how ſtraitly Schoole-men beſeiged unwilling to yeeld originall ſin the only

and

and ſole cauſe of reprobation. And yet if granted *ESAV* rejected becauſe of ſome particular or Actuall ſin or evill foreſeen in him: Conſequently the others ELECTION from ſomewhat which GOD foreſaw to bee good, &c.

Even ſo to him who overcomes when he is Iudged, and nothing with him impoſſible, be aſcribed all poſſible Praiſe and Thankſgiving, whoſe Iudgements (*Rom.* 11.) unſearchable and VVay paſt finding out, ſo even increaſe our FAITH LORD.

Charitas non æmulatur; omnia credit.

1644.

THE

ARTICLES

Of The

SVRRENDER

Of The

City of YORKE

To the Earle of LEVEN, Lord *Fairefax*, and Earle of *Manchester*, on Tuesday *July* 16. 1644.

Together with an explanation of some part of the ARTICLES.

LONDON,
Printed for MATHEW WALBANCKE,
July 23. 1644.

THE

ARTICLES

Of The

SVRRENDER

of the

City of YORKE

To the Earl of Leven, Lord Fairfax, and Earle of Manchester, on Tuesday July 16. 1644.

Together with an explanation of some part of the ARTICLES.

BRITISH MUSEUM

LONDON
Printed for MATH[illegible]

Articles agreed upon betweene Alexander *Earle of* Leven, *Generall of the Scottish Forces*, Ferdinando *Lord* Fairfax, *and the Earle of* Manchester, *Generalls of the English Forces about* Yorke *on the one part, and Sir* Thomas Glenham *Knight, Governour of the City of Yorke, and Colonell Generall of the Northerne Army, of the other part Anent the surrender, and delivery of the said City, with the Forts, Townes, Cannon, Ammunition, and furniture of Warre belonging thereto, in manner after specified to the said Generalls, for the use of King and Parliament, the* 15 *day of* July, 1644.

1. THe said Sir *Thomas*, as Governour of the said Citie, shall surrender and deliver up the same, with the Forts, Tower, Cannon, Ammunition, and furniture of Warre, belonging thereunto, betweene this and the sixteenth of *July* instant, at or about the 11 houre thereof in the forenoone, to the said Generals or any in their names for the use aforesaid, in manner, and upon the condition after written.

2. That the Governour, and all Officers and Souldiers, both Horse and Foot, the Governours, Officers, and Souldiers of *Cliffords-Tower*, the Officers and Souldiers of the Sconce, the Officers and Souldiers belonging to the traine and outworkes, shall march out of the City on Horse-back & with their Armes, flying Colours, Drums, beating Matches lighted on both ends, Bullets in their mouths,

and withall their bag and baggage, that every souldier shall have 12 charges of Powder.

3. That the Officers and souldiers shall not march above ten miles a day, that they have accommodation of Quarter and convenience of carriages, that a Troope of Horse out of every of the three Armies, shall attend upon them for their convoy in their march, that no injurie or affront be offered them to *Shipton*, or the next Garrison Towne within sixteene miles of the Princes Army.

4. That such Officers and souldiers as are sicke and hurt, and cannot march out of the Towne, shall have liberty to stay within untill they be recovered, and then shall have passage given them to goe into the Princes Army, where ever it shall be, or to their owne houses and estates, where they may rest quiet, or whither else they shall please, That it may be recommended to my Lord *Fairfax* for their subsistence during their cure or being ill.

5. All Officers and souldiers wives, children and servants, now in Towne, may have libertie to goe along with their husbands, or to them, or if they please to returne to their owne houses and estates, to enjoy them under such contributions as the rest of the Country payes, that they may have liberty to carrie with them their goods, and have a convenient time and carriages allowed to carrie them away.

6. That no Officer or souldier shall be stopt or plundered upon his march.

7. That no man shall intice any Officer or souldier as he marches out of the Towne with any pro-

promiſes of preferment or reward, or any other grounds whatſoever.

8. That the Citizens and Inhabitants may enioy all their priviledges which formerly they did at the beginning of theſe troubles, and may have freedome of trade both by Land and Sea, paying ſuch duties and cuſtomes as all other Cities and Towns under the obedience of King and Parliament.

9. That the Garriſon that ſhall be placed here, ſhall be two parts of three at the leaſt of Yorkſhire men, and no free quarter ſhall be put upon any without his owne conſent, and that the Armies ſhall not enter the City.

10. That in all charges, the Citizens reſident and inhabitants ſhall bear ſuch part with the County at large as was formerly uſed in all other Aſſeſſements.

11. That all Citizens, Gentlemen, and Reſidents, Sojourners, and every other perſon within the City, ſhall at any time when they pleaſe have free liberty to move themſelves, their families, and goods, and to diſpoſe thereof and of their Eſtate at their pleaſure, according to the Law of the Land, eſther to live at their owne houſes or elſewhere, and to enjoy their Goods and Eſtates without moleſtation, and to have protection and ſafeguard for that purpoſe, ſo that they may reſt quietly at their aboad, and to travell freely and ſafely about their occaſions, and for their better removall they ſhall be furniſhed with carriages, paying for their carriages reaſonable rates.

12. That all thoſe Gentlemen and others whatſoever

ever that have Goods within the Citie, and are absent themselves, may have free liberty to take, carry away, and dispose of those Goods, as in the last Article.

13. That no building be defaced, nor any plundering, nor taking of any mans person, or of any part of his Estate, and that Iustice, according to Law, within the Citie shall be administred in all cases by the Magistrates, and be assisted there if need be by the Garrison.

14. That all persons whose dwellings are in the City, though now absent, may have the benefit of these Articles, as if they were present in the City.

By the Articles of Agreement touching the Rendition of the City of YORKE.

THe Generals of the Armies have treated as Generals in reference onely to themselves and their Souldiers, and it was not intended to intrench upon any Ordinances of Parliament, but all such persons and estates as were subject to Sequestrations, might still be liable and subject thereto, notwithstanding any generall words in the Articles.

And

And thus these Generals doe declare under their hands, and the Commissioners of the Treaty doe declare, That they did severall times during the Treaty expresse to the other Commissioners, that they had no order to meddle with any Ordinance of Parliament, or to goe further then the bounds of the Army. Subscribed by

The Lord Fairfax,
The Earle of Manchester.
Sir Adam Hepborne,
Lord Humby.
Sir William Constable.

Printed according to Order.

Printed according to Order.

York is surrendred.
The Articles mentioned.
Foure Judges accused.
Two Priests apprehended.

6

Numb. 64.

THE KINGDOMES Weekly Intelligencer:

SENT ABROAD

To prevent mis-information.

From *Tuesday* the 16. of *July*, to *Tuesday* the 23. of *July* 1644.

IN my last, I told you, that on *Friday*, the 12. of *July*, 12. at night, as the three Generals were about to storme *York*, there came out a Trumpeter, and sounded a Parley, from the Governor, which gave interruption to the designe, of storming, and an occasion to fall a Treating, which by *Monday* night produced this effect (by Articles signed by both parties) that on *Tuesday* following, *York* should be delivered up to the 3. Generals and accordingly the three Generalls that day entered the Town, and had a Sermon of Thanksgiving preached the same day: what the conditions were, upon which the Town was rendred, you shall have in the close.

But were they never so honourable to the Defendants, the advantage is exceedingly to the Besiegers: For 1. They save the losse of their men (and blood on both sides) 2. The Plundring of *York* (if taken by storming) had not onely ruined the Malignants there, but those that wished well to us and durst not shew it, besides many an innocent soule might have lost their life in the heate of execution: 3. And what Plunder our souldiers had gotten, they would have gone away with it, and thereby much have weakened our forces: The fourth and maine reason is this, that now they are at liberty, to go with a strength indeed to scatter *Rupert's* forces, and give some ease, to the Lord *Scroopes* daughters at *Bolton* Castle, whom

Prince

Prince *Rupert* hath been visiting, for the sake of their portions, as well as their persons, some thousands against their wills, he hath borrowed of them, and some thousands with their wills, it is hoped we may yet get.

I also told you the last weeke, what great joy there was at *Oxford*, and other parts of the Kings Garrisons (*Per mandatum Regis*) for the great victory obtained by *Rupert* against the English and Scottish forces: I was in hope, the enemy had learnt a little humility, with a private sense of his overthrow at *Yorke*, but since they are impudent, and past all shame and grace, by a wilfull perseverance in mocking of God and the World, I will give some further instances.

I shall begin with a precious servant of his Majesties, Captaine Generall of the female Army, that came marching with Colours to the Parliament, commonly known by the name of Serjeant *Francis*, or the worshipfull Master Justice *Francis*, the words of his Letter were these.

Dear Father,

THese are to signifie unto you, the certain Occurrences here; P. Rupert hath utterly defeated the Bonny Scots, and Rebells that besieged York, taken Generall Lesly, and that arch Rebell Sir Thomas Fairfax prisoner, slaine the Earle of Manchester, and taken fourty eight piece of Ordnance, and ten thousand Armes, and not left them so much as a blew Bonnet: time will not give me leave to send you the particulars, but it is certified by an expresse from his Majestie, and under his Highnesse Prince Ruperts own hand, and therefore you may credit it, and make it known, &c.

Bristoll July the 9. 1644. Your obedient sut. Will. Francis.

When *Taunton Deane* Castle was surrendred to Sir *Robert Pye*, and Colonell *Blake*, the convoy that went with the enemies that were in the Castle, to conduct them to *Bridgewater*, had this Letter of Serjeant *Francis* sent unto them in scorne, that they might see how they were beten in the North.

This being made known to my Lord Generall, who knew the contrary, having received a Copy of the Letter under the hands of the three Generalls, of the defeat *Rupert* had received, sent a Copy of it by a Trumpeter to Sir *John Barkley*, Governour of *Exceter*, on the day of Thanksgiving they kept in *Exceter*, for Prince *Ruperts* great victory, with this message, that if the Relation proved true, Sir *John* had received, that Prince *Rupert* had obtained a victory against the English, and Scottish forces, his *Barkeleyey*, would then be content and engage his honour in it, to deliver up the

Town

Town of *Weymouth*, and *Melcombe Regis* to Sir *John Barkley*, if Sir *John* would engage his honour to deliver up *Exeter* to my Lord Generall, if his Excellencies Relation proved true, and the other falſe: But Sir *John* was not pleaſed to returne an anſwer ſutable to that noble offer, but kept the day of Thankſgiving, and had Bone-fires, ringing of Bells, and diſcharged all the Ordinance in the City and out workes, and made great fires on tops of hills for joy, which were anſwered in kinde by his Excellency.

The Anſwer returned by Sir *John Barkley*, was in theſe words:

MY Lord, In the poſture we are in it is very poſſible I may be deceived in our Intelligence, and conſidering the practiſe of ſome, not impoſſible but your Lordſhip may be; I am confident your Lordſhip hath no intention to abuſe the people, I am moſt ſure I have not, it muſt be acknowledged your newes is very unpleaſant to men of my affection, and will not prove very proſperous to thoſe of your Lordſhips, if I am not miſtaken in them or my arguments of them: I ſtill incline rather to beleeve our own, but not to the degree of difference, as there is between Exeter *and* Weymouth, *however I ſhall receive the aſſurance of either, with the moſt equall minde, and in the worſt event ſhall never want the ſatisfaction of having diſcharged my duty to my Country with a heart as untouched of private ends, and reſpects, as any mans living, &c.*

Your loving humble ſervant,
John Barkley.

There appears ſome ingenuity in this Gentlemans Letter, yet upon this he ſhewed a moſt barbarous part, and hanged up Captaine *Turpin*, a Sea Captaine, that had been his priſoner, above a twelve moneth, in cold blood, being guilty of no crime, but for endeavouring to relieve the Town, when the Earle of *Stamford* was beſieged in it, ſo was a proper priſoner of war, yet this Governour hanged him up: indeed he affirmes it was by Prince *Maurice* his ſpeciall command, that *Maurice* may, and I hope ſhall in time ſtretch for it with a halter about his necke, for ſuch an inhumane act in cold blood: But when he hath done all the villany he can, he is like to take a *Maurice* dance after her Majeſtie into France, and there ſecure his perſon from puniſhment, for his horrid and bloody actions: both my Lord Admirall, and my Lord Generall have vowed the death of ſome of his favourites, and eminent Commanders, without mercy, when they fall into their hands: If not, the Parliament may do well to eaſe the Priſon of the Tower, and revenge Captain *Turpins* death, on ſome of the blood hounds in the Towes.

Another reaſon that *Barkley* gives for this action, is that my Lord Generall did hang Captaine *Howard* at *Barſtable*, it is true, and may do it by

the Law of Armes, for this Captaine, was Lieutenant to Captain *Fan*, and run away with 19. horses to the enemy, and served under the enemy. We have twenty of quality of theirs for one of ours that are prisoners; And if once we did but shew severity, terrour would make the enemy do like Christians, when justice and equity would not.

The latest newes out of the West is, that his Majesty is gone from *Bath* to *Bristoll*, and hasteris with *Hoptons* forces and his own to joyn with *Maurice*, and so to swallow up my Lo: Generals forces: such high thoughts bring low conclusions, witnesse *Ruperts* boasts before the Battaile at *Yorke*. The enemy relies on the arm of flesh, We on God; Our cause is good, why should we doubt of good successe? My Lo: Generall is resolved to die in the Cause.

Col. *Massie* in his Letter to the Parliament, dated *July* 17. informes of his Majesties march to *Bath*, and of an excellent piece of Justice he did, to hang up 2. or 3. men for plundering (like pieces of Justice hath been done formerly, when a theefe for stealing a little victuals hath been hanged without pardon, but bloody murderers have from time to time obtained his Majesties pardon) Irish Rebels that attend his Majesty, and cut the throats of Protestants, they must not be touched, but an *English* man must hang for it.

He further certifies in his Letter, that his Majesties souldiers plundered in all places where they came, even the Kings firmest friends, tooke the shooes from off the feet of all men and women they met, and what clothes that was good from off their backs, that he followed the Reare of the Kings forces but with three Troopes, took 60. prisoners, and preserved a great part of the Country from Plunder.

For a little from home. The Ceremony in the reception of the States Ambassadours in the two houses of Parliament, and the great State that was shewn by the Parliament therein, is observable, and their readinesse to give the Ambassadours audience as soon as ever they were acknowledged by them to be the Parliament of *England*, is sufficient to give testimony to the world, of the inclination of the Parliament, to hearken to the States desires, of a well grounded peace, who no sooner acknowledged the two houses of Parliament at *Westminster*, to be the *Parliament of England*, but Audience was granted.

Friday, *July* 5. the said *Ambassadours* addressed themselves by writing to the Parliament, in these words:

A Monsieur, Monsieur Guillaume Lenthall Esquyer, Orateur, de la maison des Communs assemblez en Parlement d'Angleterre, a Westminster.

The like to the house of Peeres.

Friday

Friday *July* 12. they had Audience: Wednesday, *July* 17. the house of Commons took into consideration the Letters of Credence, and their Propositions presented in writing, and deferred the further debate thereof to another day.

To remove one objection, lest it be imputed unto the Parliament, to defer a speedy answer, take notice, That if so much time were spent, as from *December* 31. to *July* 5. before the right termes of acknowledging this the Parliament of England was assented unto, well may the Parliament take some time to consider of the substantiall part of the Embassie.

Besides, it may be conceived, that in as much as the Kingdome of Scotland is engaged in the war, so it is but just their concurrence be had in the point of peace, and therefore without having their desires communicated by the Parliament to the Kingdome of *Scotland*, or by other Ambassadours to that Nation, an effectuall answer cannot be expected suddenly to be given.

It is much complained of abroad, that the not setling of the Church affaires, is a great dis-service to the Parliament: It is granted, and yet (the destractions and troubles of the time considered) it hath been impossible for them to spare so much time from those debates, which must continue them in a beeing condition, as to settle the same: but at last some further progresse is made, and on Friday last, the house was resolved into a grand Committee, who came to a resolution concerning one point of Ordination, to this effect; That whosoever shall be brought to be ordained a Minister, shall give sufficient testimony concerning his experience in Logick, and Philosophie, and in the Originall Tongues, and of his degrees taken at the University, and that he hath taken the Nationall Covenant, and is to be above foure and twenty yeares before he be admitted.

This Vote was afterwards confirmed by the house, and the grand Committee is to proceed with all expedition in dispatch of the affaires of the Church.

The Lords on Friday, *July* 19. sent down by a Message to the house of Commons, the Ordinance formerly sent up to them, for continuing the Committee of both Kingdomes for foure moneths, *And untill such time as both houses take further Order*: which Ordinance had contained in it, an Oath of *Secrecy*: So all things concerning the plenitude of power, and time desired by the house of Commons for that Committee, is now setled.

Saturday, *July* 20. Sir *Hen. Vane* went up to the Lords with a Message, and carried up with him, the Ordinance for setling a Court-Marshall, for the trying of such Delinquents as come within the compasse of that Ordinance.

As,

1. *He that henceforth shall voluntarily repaire, or go from the City of* London, *or any other part within the power of the Parliament, to the parts of the King, Queene, or other Commander or Officer in the Kings Quarters, without the license of both houses, or of his Excellencie, shall suffe death.*

2. *He that shall relieve any person in Armes against the Parliament, with money, victuals, or provisions, shall suffer death.*

3. *He that hath or shall Plot the delivery up of any* Garrison, Castle, *&c. shall suffer death.*

4. *Whosoever shall desert the trust put into his hands by the Parliament shall die without mercy.*

5. *That the Keeper of any Prison, that shall wilfully suffer any prisoner to escape, shall suffer death; if negligently, shall receive severe punishment by the Court Martiall.*

Some other Articles there are.

Wednesday the 17. of *July*, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* was brought to the Barre in the house of Peeres, and received his further triall, the effect of the matter insisted upon against him, was to this purpose.

1. *That without a Bishop there was no Church.*

2. *That he had a hand in sending the Prince into Spaine.*

3. *That the discourse between the Duke and him, concerning the Prince was not fit for Paper.*

4. *The Popes Letter to his Majestie was mentioned.*

5. *The Bishop forbidding to pray for the Queenes Conversion.*

6. *Priests and Iesuites released out of Prison by him, and some entertained by him.*

7. *That he was offered a Cardinalls Cap from the Pope of* Rome, *but never complained of the party that durst offer such a thing; an Argument of his inclination to accept it, if times had been suitable, this is proved by the Diary of his own hand writing.*

Monday, The Ordinance for compelling of Tennements, and Parishioners to pay their Tithes, to the Ministers and Landlords, was committed to have speedy dispatch, so was the Ordnance for the Prerogative Court, recommitted, to the end the probate of Wills, &c. may be so done, as not to countenance Episcopacy in the least kinde, which cannot well be done otherwise, but it must partake of some part of the Common Law.

The Committe at *Sunderland*, sent up to the Parliament, *Monday* the 22. of

22. of *July*, two Popish Priests were taken, as they fled from Prince *Rupert* when he was beaten neer *York*; being Priests to the Regiments of the Popish party in the Northerne Armies, imployed by his Majesties Authority to settle the Protestant Religion, the one of them Master *Corby* a Jesuite: confesseth under his own hand, in writing, as followeth:

I Ralph Corby *Priest living in the Bishoppricke of* Durham, *was the eight of July taken by the Parliaments forces at* Harupersley, *about nine of the clocke, about saying Masse, and there my vestments, and other things were taken: I acknowledge I tooke orders of Priesthood in Spaine, and am of the society of Jesus, and was sent over into England to convert Souldiers, which I done, &c.*

On the top of his examination was a X. Master *John Bunter* a Yorkshire man was the other Priest, who made a Confession to the same purpose, these two men are committed to Newgate, a place formerly, out of which Priests have been discharged, by Privy Councellors warrants: But the Keepers of Prisons may do well to remember Martiall Law, hangs as a rod over them, if they offend hereafter.

Monday the 22. of *July*, information being given to the house that Sir *John Barkley* had caused Captaine *Turpin*, to be hanged at *Exceter*, after so long time of imprisonment, and that he was executed by Sir *Johns* command, in revenge of Capt. *Howards* death, but in pursuance of a sentence passed against him by the four Westerne Judges, *Heath*, *Foster*, *Banks*, and *Glanvile* who, or the major part of them condemned the said Captaine, as guilty of high Treason, for obeying the commands of Parliament, the foure aforesaid Judges, were this day at the Bar of the house of Peers accused of high Treason by the house of Commons, in the name of the Commons of England: it is said Serjeant *Glanviles* case, was different from the rest, if he sat on the Bench, yet that he gave no concurrence to the sentence, his sitting was a crime too high, in giving countenance to such proceeding, in any part of the West, though in opposition to the Irish Rebells (it may be) he hath appeared more then any man at *Oxford*: but all this cannot excuse his adhering to the enemie.

The Articles upon the surrender of *Yorke*, were to this purpose.

1. *That* Sir Tho: Glemham *as Governour of the said City, shall surrender and deliver up the same, With the Forts, Tower, Canon, Ammunition, and furniture of war belonging thereunto, on the* 16. *of* July *instant, or about the eleventh houre thereof, in the forenoone, to the three Generall, or any in their Name, for the use of King and Parliament, in manner, and upon the conditions after Written.*

2. That

2. That all Officers and Souldiers shall march out of the City on horseback, with their Armes, flying Colours, Drums beating, Matches lighted, Bullet in their mouthes, Bagge and Baggage.

3. That they have a Convey, that no injurie be done unto them in their march to Skipton.

4. That sick or maimed Souldiers may go after recovery.

5. That all Souldiers wives and children may have liberty to go to their husbands, or to their own houses, and estates, and not to be put under contribution.

6. That no Officer or Souldier be plundered.

7. That no Souldier be inticed away.

8. That the Citizens enjoy Trade and priviledges.

9. That the Garrison to be placed there, be two parts of the Yorkshire men.

10. That the City beare part of the charges with the County, as usuall.

11. That they shall have liberty to enjoy and dispose of their estates, according to the Law of the Land, without molestation.

This last Article receives an explanation by the 3. Generals, and Commissioners, that they did openly declare at the Treaty, that for persons and estates they should have protection, as to the Souldiers, but as to the Ordinance of Parliament, it was not in their power to grant it, so that are liable to the Ordinance of Sequestration, as it was with my Lo: Grandall, upon the surrendring of *Reading*: They had the like conditions, but it freed them not from the Ordinances of Parliament.

And as for the third Article, that they be not injured in their march some of those souldiers of my Lo: *Fairfaxes* that were stripped at *Newarke*, contrary to conditions, did take an opportunity to repaire themselves out of the enemies baggage, though some of them were punished by the Generals. So now *Rupert* was answered in kinde; had not he broken faith at *Newarke*, our common souldiers had not dealt so with him now.

In pursuance of the Articles, 35. piece of Ordnance, 3000. Armes, 800 of great shot, 5. barrels of powder, and other Ammunition were delivered by Sir *Tho: Glemham* into the Magazine, into the possession of the three Generals: they marched away with no Ordnance.

Now Malignant, tell me if thou be converted that *Rupert* was beaten and *Yorke* is taken? Believe thy Father *Antichrist* no more.

Printed according to Order, for Robert White

K. P.P. London (P217) 8

The Weekly Accounts

Num. 48 July. 24

Containing

Certain Speciall and Remarkable PASSAGES From both Houses of PARLIAMENT, and other Parts of the Kingdome.

1. *The Lord* Greys *taking* 5. *Captains, and severall other Officers, with sixty Common Soldiers, Horse, and Armes, in the County of* Derby. *With the last Newes from Prince* Rupert, *and what strength he hath gotten together.*
2. *The Kings drawing together his Forces in the West, with an intent (as it is thought) to give Battle to the Lord Generall; And* Sir William Wallers *sending a Party of his Horse to His Excellency. And the manner of the Queenes getting over into* France.
3. Sir William Wallers *joyning with Collonel* Brown, *and the designe they are now upon. With the Articles for the surrendring up of* York: *And severall remarkable Passages from thence, since the City was yielded.*

From Wednesday the 17. *of* July, *to Wednesday the* 24. *of the same.* 1644.

Published according to Order; for fuller satisfaction.

London, Printed by *Bernard Alsop.*

Wednesday the 17. *of* July.

He last Week, I told you that Collonel *Norton* was gone from Sir *William Waller*, and was marching again towards Basing, to joyne with those valiant Besiegers, for the speedier gaining of that House: The truth whereof, hath since appeared by a Letter under Sir *Williams* own hand; wherein he acquaints the House, of his dismissing Major *Brown* and Collonel *Norton* for other particular services. And by Letters from Basing Stoke, we are informed that Collonel *Norton* was come thither, and that the Beleaguerers had prepared all things in a readinesse to storme the House, as soon as they found a convenient opportunity,

tunity, which was conceived would have been before this, had not their intent been discovered to the Enemy, by the confession of two of our men, who through negligence were taken prisoners by the Defendants. Major Browne is fortifying of Redding, which will soon be brought to a good perfection, and a Garrison placed in it: After which it will not be long, ere we heare of some further valourous acts from that renowned Commander, who is full of Action.

This day the Archbishop of Canterbury was brought to his further triall in the House of Peeres, and the twelfth Originall Article was read against him, *viz.*

That he had Traiterously and wickedly endeavoured to cause Division and Discord between the Church of England *and other Reformed Churches, which Article was maintained and made good against him by his own words, where he said: That without a Bishop there is no true Church. Implying, that all Forraigne Churches that have no Bishops, are no true Churches; Contrary to the opinion of all the Orthodoxe Divines in Christendome.*

Secondly, *That he would not have the Pope called* Antichrist, *nor admit of* Rome *to be called* Babylon.

Thirdly, *He suppressed a Book called;* A Declaration of the Doctrine and Discipline of the Palatinate Church, *and permitted all kinds of* Arminianisme *and* Popery *to be printed.*

Then they proceeded to another Article, which was this;

That he had traiterously endeavoured to reconcile the Church of England, *and the Church of* Rome. *It being proved both by divers Papists and Iesuites in* England, *and by the Popes Letter found in his Study.*

It was also proved, that he had a hand in sending His Majestie (that now is) when he was Prince) into Spain; *And afterwards his forwarding the Match of with* France, *and his usuall addresses to the Queen; and he so farre approved of her Religion, that he would not have any Prayer used for her Conversion. Also, he punished by Fine and imprisonment a* Leicestershire *Minister, for praying that the young Prince might not be educated and brought up in Popery: His Grace not holding that Prayer suitable with the time.*

Thursday.

I Cannot passe over the remembrance of our day of solemne Thanksgiving (though it fals last to my turn) without taking notice, that when our Enemies had laboured to cloud the day of our joy, and take off the edge of our Thankfulnesse by spreading abroad false rumours, presuming even to mocke God by outward appearances of joy, when they had no salvation in the thing

whereof

wherein they seemed to rejoyce; and one main argument which they used to discourage us, and infuse a belief that there was some truth in their outward flourishes (that they might cast Ashes upon our heads in the day of our Triumph) was because the City of York was not yeelded (which said they) would not have flood out, if Prince Rupert had been routed. But God would not suffer them hereby to rob him of his honour, and therefore its worthy our observance, that the newes of York being surrendred unto the Parliament's Forces, arrived at *London* the very day before the time set apart for our Thankesgiving.

The Lords and Commons joyned together in the solemnization of this day, and after Sermon there was a volley of Ballashes, and when the Sermon was ended in *Pauls* Church, two Bringues Colours were flourished and displayed on the top of the Steeple, which gave notice to the severall Forts, and thereupon the Ordnance went off round about the Citie, and Boonfires were made at Night, to the shame of falshood, and the terrour and vexation of those that are Enemies to the Parliament, and their accomplices or adherents.

In this place therefore, my very method leades me to say something of the surrender of York, which otherwise I should have omitted till last of all, because the substance of this early Intelligence, hath been set forth by other pens, which in briefe was thus:

That Articles of agreement for the surrendring up the City to the three Generals for the use of the Parliament, were agreed upon, subscribed, and sealed, on Munday last, and that Sir *Thomas Glenham* the Governour thereof, with his Popish Forces, marched out of the City, and the Lord *Fairfax* with his Forces entred in, and took possession thereof, and made proclamation, that none of the Souldiers should plunder any house, &c. Which was so punctually obeyed, that many of the Inhabitants presently set open their Shops, the Soldiers not offering to take any thing without giving satisfaction for it.

The Earle of Manchester and Generall *Lesley* entered also into the City, and the same day had a Sermon in the Minster, and returned thankes unto God that they had gained so great and populous a City, without shedding more bloud.

There was found in the City plenty of Bread, Corne, Beere, and Saltmeat; their chiefest want consisted of Salt, and fresh victuall.

From Oxford we are informed, that the Townesmen are much oppressed by the insolent behaviour of the Cavaliers, insomuch, that they wish our Forces were again before that Town; hoping by their means to be released out of the bondage they live in.

Friday.

AFter the news before spoken of (concerning the late fight neer Yorke) came to Oxford, it was not long before it was carried as a precious Cordiall to her Majesty at Exon, where was likewise Boonfires, singing, &c. and Sir *John Berkley* the Governour of that City, seemed so confident of the truth thereof, that he sent a Message to the Lord *Generall* to acquaint him therewith, upon the certainty of their Intelligence, and wondered that his Lordship should not believe it. In answer hereof, the Lord *Generall* sent him his Letters touching that Fight; wishall, letting him know, that his Letters were written before the Battell was ended, and brought not half their errand, as were adulterated by a corrupted Secretary (as *Nicholas*) whose Letters were commonly knowne to be notoriously false; But from such hands that carried such credit and weight, that his Lordship would ingage Weymouth, and all the West against Excester, that the day was ours, and Prince *Rupert* defeated, &c Which his Lordship might well do, for to make good the truth of that Rout given to Prince *Rupert*, the City of Yorke is now surrendred, the effect of the Articles upon which it was yeilded, are as followeth.

Articles agreed upon between Alexander *Earle of* Leven, *Generall of the Scottish Forces*, Ferdinando *Lord* Fairfax, *and the Earle of* Manchester, *Generals of the English Forces about* York, *on the one part*, *And Sir* Thomas Glemham *Knight*, *Governour of the City of* York, *and Colonel Generall of the Northern Army on the other part*, *about the surrender and delivery of the said City with the Forts*, *Towers*, *Canon*, *Ammunition*, *and Furniture of Warre*, *belonging thereunto*; *in manner after specified*, *to the said Generalls*, *for the use of King and Parliament*, *the* 15. *day of* July. 1644.

1. THe said Sir *Thomas Glemham*, as Governour of the said City, shall surrender and deliver up the same, with the Forts, Towers, Canon, Ammunition, and furniture of Warre belonging thereunto, betwixt this and the 16. of *Instant*, at or about the Eleventh houre thereof, in the fore-noon, to the said Generals.

2. That the Governour, and all Officers and Souldiers, both of Horse and Foot, shall march out of the City on Horse-back, and with their Armes, flying Colours, Drumme beating, Matches lighted on both ends, Bullet in their mouth, with all their Bagge and Baggage, and that every Souldier shall have twelve charges of Powder.

3. That the Officers and Soldiers shall not march above ten miles a day; That they

they have Accommodation of quarter, and convenience of Carriages, that no injury nor Affront be offered them to *Skipton*, or the next Garrison Town, within 16. miles of the Princes Army.

4. That such Officers and Souldiers that are sick or hurt, and cannot march out of the Town, shall have liberty to stay within, untill they be recovered, and then shall have passage given them to go unto the Princes Army, or to their own Homes and Estates, where they may rest quiet, or whether else they shall please.

5. That all Officers and Souldiers Wives, Children and Servants now in the Town, may have liberty to go along with their husbands. That they may have liberty to carry with them their goods, and have a convenient time, and Carriages allowed them to carry them away.

6. That no Officer, or Souldier be stopt or plundered in their march.

7. That no man shall entice any Officer or Souldier, as we march out of the Town, with any promise of preferment or reward.

8. That the Citizens or Inhabitants may enjoy all their Priviledges which formerly they did at the beginning of these Troubles.

9. That the Garrison which shall be placed here, shall be two parts of three at the least of Yorkshire men, and no free quarter shall be put upon any, without his own consent.

10. That in all Charges, Reliefs and Inhabitants shall bear only such part with the County at large, as was formerly used in all other Assessements.

11. That all Citizens, Gentlemen, Reliefs, Sojourners, and every other Person within the City, shall at any time when they please, have free liberty to remove themselves, their Families and goods, and to dispose thereof, and of their estates, at their pleasures.

12. That neither Churches nor other buildings be defaced, nor any plundering or taking of any mans person, or of any part of his estate, and that Justice according to Law, within the City, shall be administred in all cases by the Magistrate.

13. That all Persons, whose dwellings are in the City, though now absent, may have the benefit of these Articles, as if they were present within the City.

Thom. Glenham.

In the next place you cannot but expect satisfaction of the ensuing motions of our forces, which doubtlesse will not afford the Enemy any advantage of time to renew their broken fortunes, but will pursue after them when they have agreed on the manner of the dividing their forces, and settling a garison in that City, to which purpose a counsell of Warre was called at the coming a way of our last post, who will soone resolve of a setled course therein.

We heare the Queen upon another triall is gotten into *Pendennis* Caſtle, and it is likely, that the noyſing about there that the Parliaments Forces were utterly routed and loſt all their Ordnance near *York*, might procure Her paſſe thorough that County, with promiſe to carry a ſtrict hand over her unruly followers, having at *Falmouth* eleven Ships to conduct her ſafe over Sea, but the Lord Admirall hath ſent three of his Ships to lye at the mouth of the Haven, having before blockt up Exmouth, and layd a fifty Ship at Torbay, which will interrupt the Enemies paſſage in or out by Sea.

Saterday.

THis day we received Intelligence, that the King marched thorough Glouceſterſhire (of which I gave you a hint the laſt Week) and that Collonel *Maſſey* with only three Troops of Horſe, did ſo attend thoſe Forces in their roving march, that he did exceedingly preſerve the County from being plundered and robbed, and was active in catching up the Straglers, that they durſt not march but in a Body; yet did he ſurprize about fifty of them, amongſt which were ſome Officers and Commanders; And that His Majeſtie was now at Bath, and intended for Briſtoll (not farre from thence) which City they are ſtrengthening by renewing their Fortifications, having forced the Countrey to worke as Pioneers, and bring in all ſorts of proviſion as if they did ſhortly expect a Siedge. Though it is ſaid His Majeſtie hath drawn will call all that he can out of his Garriſons, and all his Forces Weſtwards, and trye it once more in the Field.

Not long after we received this intelligence: It was informed (and that by good hands) that the Ships which were ſent by the Lord Admirall to Falmouth to prevent her Majeſties Deſigne for getting over Sea, came not ſoon enough, and that Her Majeſty taking the firſt opportunity, made no ſtay at *Pendennis*, but committed her ſelfe to Sea (as it is thought) in a Straterman of Warre, attended with a ſmall Galley with Oares, and ſome few ſmall Barques attending on her, of which our Ships had a view, but being of a farre greater burthen, could not ſail faſt enough to overtake them, ſo that we hear ſhe is landed at Breſt in *Brittaigne*, within the Confines of France.

The King is ſaid to be gone to *Bridgewater*, and is expected to draw near to the Lord Generall, who will be ready to encounter with his Iriſh and Popiſh Army; and the more he gets together of theſe (though called his beſt Subjects) will no doubt by the aſſiſtance of the Omnipotent power, be a meanes to put the ſooner period to the preſent diſtractions of this King-dome.

Munday

Munday.

SIr *William Waller* is Voted by the Houſe not to follow the Kings flying Army, with his Train of Artillery, any further Weſtwards for the preſent; it being rather thought fit, that he ſhould joyne with the Forces of the Aſſociated Counties of *Bucks*, *Berks*, &c. And for that purpoſe we were this day informed, that he hath drawn all his Forces towards Oxon (except a Party of Horſe which he hath ſent to the Lord *Generall*) and was on Satterday laſt at Woodſtock, (five or ſeven miles from thence) where he intends to keep a garriſon, and another at *Abbington*: Which will prevent the Oxonians from iſſuing forth any diſtance, to rob and ſpoil the Country. And if Major *Browne* and he joyne together, it is probable they will lay cloſe ſiege againſt that City, which is a place of great concernment, eſpecially for the peace of thoſe parts, for if that were taken the Enemy would be quite driven out of the Aſſociated Counties.

By Letters from Sir *William Brewerton* dated at York, he confirmes the ſurrender thereof: He alſo writes that Prince *Rupert* is gone into Lancaſhire, and (as they heare) is about Preſton, and by his rallyed Horſe and other Northern Forces joyned with him, he is thought to be ſixe thouſand ſtrong.

We were this day alſo certified, that when our Forces were entred into *York*, they found the Enemies Workes very ſtrong, and more durable then was before conceived of them.

That divers of the notorious Delinquents and Malignants, were marched away with the Enemy, and that contrary to the conditions agreed on, the Enemy had ſpoiled and broken a thouſand Armes, which according to the agreement, they were to leave behinde: So that if our Forces afterwards kept not their conditions with them, they may thank themſelves.

There were ſent up to the Parliament by the Committee of *Sunderland*, the two and twentieth of this inſtant, two Popiſh Prieſts that were taken as they fled from Prince *Rupert*, when he was beaten near *York*: The one named *Ralph Corby*, who confeſſed he took his Orders of Prieſthood in *Spain*, and was of the Society of *Jeſus*, and lived in the Biſhoprick of *Durham*; The other was called *John Duckat* a Yorkſhire man.

Tueſday,

Tuesday.

BEsides the good service which Captaine *Swaily* lately performed in Walles, by securing of Milford Haven, and landing some forces in the County of Pembroke, for the King and Parliament. He is likely to prove a profitable instrument to helpe furnish this City with a good quantity of Coales in time of scarcity, for he took about that Haven Eighteen sayle of shipping, which he hath undertaken to lade with coales, and send to the port of London, for which purpose he is hastening back againe into those parts.

The winde begins to turne at Oxford, and their publique injuries, begin to breed private dissentions. The Governour *Astons* carries himselfe like a Tyrant, he forceth all aswell inhabitants as others to beare Armes, which exempts them not from billiting foure or five in a house upon free quarter, and pay twenty shillings per week besides, or (for want of mony) the wood thereof. But this is not all, for the difference is growne so high, that some of their maine ticklers, *Culpeper* and *Hide*, are questioned for their earnest moving for an accommodation, and saying that it was the only way to make his Majestie happie, and a great Prince; unto which counsell a great party there doe incline.

It appearing to the honourable House of Commons, that Iudge *Heath*, Iudge *Foster*, and Iudge *Banks*, did condemne Captaine *Turpine*, for no other cause but obeying the commands of the Parliament (Sergeant *Glanvill* being then also a Iudge in that circuite) upon which sentence, the said Captaine *Turpine* was since executed at Exon by the command of Sir *John Berkley*, which businesse being taken into consideration, the said *Heath*, *Foster*, *Banks*, and *Glanvell*, were voted Traytors to the State, for this and other matters against them, and an impeachment sent up to the Lords thereupon by a Message from the House of Commons.

By Letters out of Darby shire, it was this day informed that the Lord *Grey* hath taken five Captaines, and diverse other *Officers*; with at least fifty common souldiers, together with some horse and Armes at Wilton Feny (if I mistake not the name) in that County.

FINIS.

pp. London Special Passages &c.

CONTINVATION

Of certain Speciall and Remarkable passages informed to the PARLIAMENT, and otherwise from divers parts of this Kingdome, from Wednesday the 17th. of *July*, till Wednesday the 24. of *July*, 1644.

A full and true relation of the besieging and taking of Wilne *Ferry, and fort by the Lord* Grey, *and Sir* John Gell, *with the Governour, 2. Captaines, three Lieutenants, 3. Ensignes with their Drums and Colours, 2. Drakes, 80. Souldiers, 100. Gentlemen, &c. with other exployts done by them. A true relation of the taking of* Craveling *by the* French. *Sir* William Wallers *besieging* Wallingford *Castle. The Lord Generalls ordering and* Ruperts *recruiting. A true Copie of the Articles upon the surrendring of Yorke.*

London, Printed by *F. L.* for *F. Coles*, and are to be solde in the *Old Bayly*

Vpon Sunday *July* 14th. Generall *Hastings* was at *Colchester* with about 7000. horse and foote, (they being all he could possibly draw out of all the Garrisons under his Command) with some intention to walke in his accustomed old way of plundering the Countries about him, The ever renowned and truly valiant Lord *Grey* of *Groby*, hearing of this party of the enemy, upon Munday morning drew out of *Leicester* withall expedition, thirsting to give his old Antagonist battell, supposing that this Gallant party which *Hastings* had gathered together, would have put some valour into him; but as soone as the Lord *Grey* drew neere unto him, he presently retreated to *Ashby de la Zouch* (his old place of refuge) to be only a Spectator of the Lord *Grey* and Sir *John Gells* meeting, who no sooner were joyned together, but they fell upon *Wilne Ferry*, and Fort, (which was *Hastings* cheife trappe to take the Carriers in their passage betweene *Derby* and *Leicester*) with that resolution and courage that after three dayes siege, giving the Enemy continuall Alarums, with Thunder claps of Canon, upon Thursday last *July* the 18. both their forces drew up close to the Ferry & Fort, and immediatly with great

great Gallantry stormed it, killed 8. or 9. men, took the Governour two Captaines, three Lieutenants, three Ensignes with their Drums and Colours, two Drakes, eighty Souldiers, neere one hundred Country Gentlemen, and others which came into their assistance with all their Arms, and brought them into *Leicester* on Friday *July* 19. the Lord *Grey* lost but one man, and some few hurt, but (thanks be to God) not mortally: Assoone as this businesse was done, he presently sleighted the works, pull'd down the Fort and burned the house and so retired to *Leicester*, the Enemy never attempting to give him a Charge, now during this time the prudent Lord *Grey* ever desirous to preserve his association hearing of a party of *Newarke*, & *Belvoir* horse was come up as far as *Melton-Mowbray*, to plunder the Country in his absence, he immediatly sent Col. *Watts* with a party of Horse to drive the Enemy out of the Country, or fight with them which was accordingly done, and the Country in the *Interim* protected.

Letters which lately came from *Ireland*, were read in the House, relating the condition of that Countrie, and of the Protestant party there, and what their necessary wants are, moreover advertising that in case the Protestant Army bee supplyed, the Enemy will bee suddainly disabled to send any assistance to their popish brethren here, The Protestants there in Armes being in number but few, thousands lesse then the Enemie, and in some places the Rebels begin rather to expect a double returne of their supply already sent into this kingdome to oppose the Parliament, to confirme their diabolicall designe on foote there.

That which may justly challenge the next place in this weekes *Continuation*, concernes the affaires of gallant Sir *William Waller*: To the terrour of *Oxford*, he came on Friday *July* the 19th. to *Wallingford*, and hath since that time, tutoured them with the hot discipline of a Seige; having closely begirt the place on all sides: Nay he carries the matter with a high hand, and fetches in Contribution from within a mile of *Oxford*, to the shame of that heart-lesse Garrison: What actions else have beene performed by him, you shall heare before I close up my Intelligence.

In the meane time let us reflect a little upon the Surrender of *Yorke*:

Yorke: where our three Generalls received their welcome into Sir *Thomas Glenhams* Magazine, who left for their entertainment, and acceptance, 55. peeces of Ordnance, 3000. Armes, store of great shot, five Barrels of powder, and other Ammunition. But I have been credibly informed, that they had throwne away much powder into the River, which soule breach of Articles being afterwards found out, it is said, that a peece of Horse was sent after them to revenge it.

Yorke being now setled in affirme and peaceable possession; Our united Forces are dispersed upon severall engagements. The noble Lord *Fairfax* maintaines the Garison of *Yorke*, being resident there with convenient Forces for securing the place: The Earle of *Manchesters* designe, or march is not as yet specified: But Generall *Lesley*, with the *Scottish* Forces, is advanced towards *Newarke*; and Colonell *Cromwell* is attending upon *Ruperts* second *Lancastrian* recruite, who is now about *Lever-poole* with 7000. Horse, as it is reported, and Colonell *Cromwells* Forces are much about the same number. I suppose that this lingring about *Lever-poole* is to entertaine some of their *Irish* friends which are to come over; for *England* yeelds but poore recruiting now; And perhaps the eyes of *Lancashire* may bee opened as well as other Countries, when they see store of Rebels and Popery landing upon their Coasts.

On Mun. there came intelligence of a very rich prize, a *Hollander* taken neere *Scarborough*, the ship being well furnished with Armes, Ammunition, and Plate, and it seemes, this rich fraight was intended for *Rupert*, but being very seasonably met with, was conveyed into *Hull*. So that within the Compasse of nine or tenne dayes, we have taken two rich prizes by Sea, the other being neere *Plymouth*, though I must needs say that the most considerable prize of all escaped us, and made a shift to land in *France*.

The Ordinance concerning the Committee of both Kingdomes is now setled both according to the manner and time, desired by the House of Commons. Who does not see the benefit which hath accrued to the Kingdome, since the first establishing of that most honourable Committee?

I cannot but mention Sir *Henry Vanes* forwarding the Ordinance

for settling a Court Martiall, for the tryall of such Delinquents as shall come within the compasse of that Ordinance. Then Malignants looke to your selves, it will be ill walking betweene *London* and *Oxford*, and because you shall have faire warning more then once, give care againe to as many of those Articles of the Ordinance as are fit, for the present to be revealed.

1. *He that hereafter shall voluntarily repaire, or goe from the City of* London, *or any other part within the power of the Parliament, to the person of the King, Queene, or any Commander or Officer in the Kings Quarters without the Licence of both Houses, or of his Excellency, shall suffer Death.*

2. *He that shall relieve any person in Armes against the Parliament with money, Victualls, or provision, shall suffer death.*

3. *He that hath or shall plot the delivery up of any Garison, Castle, &c. shall suffer death.*

4. *Whosoever shall desert the trust put into his hands by the Parliament, shall die without mercy.*

5. *The Keeper of any Prison, that shall wilfully suffer any Prisoner to escape shall suffer death, if negligently, he shall receive severe punishment by the Court Martiall.*

The Parliament hath beene often traduced by the *Oxford* Pens, to be no favourers, or forwarders of learned men in the Ministery, but rather as allowing of that base usurpation of *Mechanicke Plebians*, in so holy, and divine a function: But how absurd such slanders as these are, may appeare by this which followes, for on Friday last, the House was turned into a grand Committee, where treating of the *Ordination of Ministers*, a businesse which hath been upon debate a long time in the *Synod*, they at length concluded to this effect: That before any man be ordained a Minister, hee shall bee found upon examination, to have attained sufficient experience in *Logicke* and *Philosophie* and in the Originall tongues of the *Old, and New Testament*; and to have taken degrees in the Universities: And withall to have taken the *Nationall Covenant*, and to be above foure and twentie yeares of age. These are somewhat better conditions than those required by the Prelates: How many of their preferring thinke ye, were skilled in the *Hebrew* and *Greeke* Tongues (especially the *Hebrew*?) This were easily answered, if a man should take

a *Catalogue* of all the blind guides, which (notwithstanding that the Parliament in their wisdome have rooted out abundance of them) doe as yet remaine in the Kingdome. I my selfe do know many in those places, whose unhappinesse it is to bee out of the Parliaments protection, which have not a Syllable, hardly, of any other language than what their Nurses taught them, and scarce well taught in that neither; and yet these destructive wretches have *Cure of soules*: wretched soules whose sicknesses are unto death, because they want skilfull Physitians to apply the cure.

The base inhumane, and unwarrantable executing of Captaine *Turpin* at *Exceter* by Sir *Iohn Barkly*, stickes in the stomacks of some; & I wonder it stirres not the minds of others to cry out for revenge upon so unsouldier like an action, he being executed contrary to the lawes of Warre, for no cause but for endeavouring to relieve the Towne when the Earle of *Stamford* was besieged in it. If so be that an act of this nature passe unrevenged, it may breed ill blood in our Commanders, and give them but little heart to attempt things of consequence against the enemy, when they may misscarry, & suffer a base & Tyranous death for their paines, and then the memory of it die with them, without repaying the enemy in their owne kind for their cruelty. We want not persons whereupon to exercise the the law of *Retaliation*.

There came yesterday intelligence which might seeme to thwart what I said before concerning Sir *William VVallers* being before *VVallingford* Castle. The letter layes that part of their Army is enquartered at *Abington*, being very faint, and expecting supplyes, but it speakes nothing at all concerning *VVallingford*. Howsoever I say that if an absolute siege be not granted, yet our forces lie neare there about, and you may expect suddainly to heare of action to the purpose against that Garison. In the meane time all the Country there abouts is at Sir *VVilliams* devotion.

We have further Intelligence concerning *Rupert*, that he is still at *Beverpoole*, & that he hath mightily increased his Army againe, but he is very ill provided of Powder and Armes, which is thought to be expected from *Ireland*.

I hope to see yet fires made of *Newcastle* Coles this win-ter in *London*, for the Earle of *Calender* is for certaine neere, if not before *Newcastle*, and intends with all speed to summon the Towne; It were to be wished that the Earle of *Manchester* might be spared to joyne with him to expedite that service, for it is thought that if he should come and sit downe before the Towne, it would be surrendred unto him with all willingnesse. This is the opinion of some that came lately from those parts, and are indifferently well acquainted with the pulles of the Souldiers and Townesmen, who begin to relent exceedingly since the late grand defeat given to *Rupert* forces neere *Yorke*, and I suppose that they cannot choose but be a little more enclined that way, since the surrender of *Yorke*.

Yesterday wee understood by a Letter dated at *Calis*, the three one of *July* according to their account, but according to ours the twentie one: That the *French* had *Gravelin* surrendred to them upon conditions, after that they had made by assault no lesse than five breaches in the workes.

There marched out of the Towne one thousand men: some five Horse, two peeces of Ordnance only, leaving the rest behind. One Mortar peece, about two hundred sicke and lame, and about one hundred Waggons.

License to stay in the Towne, was given to all those that would, or if they pleased to sell their House-hold stuffe, or other commodities whatsoever, to the best advantage they could, and so to depart: The *French*, after that they have secured the Towne, are going for *Burbeigh*, the *Spaniards* next Garison, which being no very considerable place, is not likely to hold out against them: And so from thence they will have liberty to range about *West Flanders*, and prey upon that delicate Countrie: This shrewd beginning against so notable a Town, may very likely make way for the losse of whole *Flanders* from the *Spaniard*.

The latest *newes* out of the West is, that His Majestie is gone from *Bath* to *Bristoll*, and hastens with *Hoptons* Forces and his owne to joyne with *Maurice*, and so to swallow up my Lord Generalls Forces, just after the same manner as *Rupert* with all his insolencie, and insolent associated blood hounds, thought to have served our

Forces

Forces neere *Yorke*; but I hope they are destin'd by providence to the same fate.

And Colonell *Massey's* letter informes us of the manner of His Majesties March Westward: And how that on his march to *Bath* hee hanged up two or three for plundering: Notwithstanding they plundered in all places where they came, serving the Kings firmest friends and Foes alike, tooke the shooes from off the feete, of all men and women they met, and their Cloathes from off their backes, that he followed the Reare of the Kings Forces, but with three troopes, and tooke sixtie prisoners, and preserved a great part of the Countrie from plundering.

I much wonder that the Malignants should still bee so much bestotted as not to credit that *Yorke* is utterly lost to their Northerne Friends. To my knowledge there are still some which will bee brought by no meanes to believe it, notwithstanding all certainties, probabilities, relations, or informations whatsoever; So much power and influence hath that *lying* Oracle, *Aulicus*, upon the minds of these infatuated Coxcombes, who make that base Pamphlet the sole object of their beliefe; *addicti jurare in verba Magistri*, being even ready to sweare to any thing which they shall print at *Oxford*, though never so ridiculous and groundlesse: And therefore for their sakes the Articles of the surrender shall be once more repeated.

Articles agreed upon betweene ALEXANDER Earle of *Leven*, Generall of the Scottish Forces, *Ferdinando* Lord *Fairfax*, and the Earle of *Manchester*, Generalls of the English Forces about *Yorke*, on the one part; And Sir *Thomas Glemham*, Knight, Governour of the CITIE of *YORKE*.

1. *That Sir* Thomas Glemham, *as Governour of the said* Citie *shall surrender and deliver up the same, with the Forts, Tower, Cannon, Ammunition, and furniture of Warre belonging thereunto, on the* sixteenth

eeenth of July instant, at or about the eleaventh houre thereof, in the noone, to the 3. Generalls, or to any in their Name, for the use of the and Parliament, in manner, and upon the same conditions after ten.

2. That all Officers and Souldiers shall march out of the Cit Horsebathe, with their Armes, flying Colours, Drummes, Matches lighted, Bullet in their mouthes, bag and baggage.

3. That they have a convoy, that no injurie bee done them in march to Skipton.

4. That sicke or maimed Souldiers may depart after recoverie.

5. That all Souldiers, Wives, and Children, may have liberty to their Husbands, or to their own houses, and estates, under the der contribution.

6. That no Officer or Souldier be plundred.

7. That no Souldier be inticed away.

8 That the Citizens enioy trade and Priviledges.

9. That the Garison to be placed there, be two parts of three Foot men.

10. That the City beare charges with the County as usuall.

11. That they shall have Liberty to inioy, and dispose of their estates cording to the Law of the Land, without molestation.

12. That all those Gentlemen and other whatsoever that have goods in the City, and are absent themselves, may have free Liberty to take away and dispose of those Goods, as in the last Article.

13. That neither Churches, nor other buildings be defaced, Plundering or taking of any mans person, or of any part of his estate, that Iustice according to Law within the City, shall be administred in Cases by the Magistrate, and be assisted therein, if need be by the Gar

14. That all Persons whose dwellings are within the City, though absent, may have the benefit of these Articles, as if they were present with the City.

This is Printed according to Order

Numb. 57

THE PARLIAMENT SCOVT

Communicating His Intelligence TO THE KINGDOME

From Thursday the 18. *of July, to Thursday the* 25. *of July.* 1644.

Thursday the 18. past, was a day of Thanksgiving for our Victory neer *Yorke*, which happily hath included the surrender of *Yorke*, which our enemies fay, being true, confignes them that the Prince was defeated; this day afforded little newes to give us leave therefore to take notice of some what that came out in Print the *Monday* before, weele not particularize the matter, because we would not revive any thing, which may be of ill consequence, only hint thus much, that its a Character of great folly to seeke honour of the slippery multitude, especially by painting over an ill businesse.

It will not be amisse therefore to insert something which came not before now to our knowledge, which is, that there were slain of the enemies side, the Lord *Carew*, son to the Earle of *Monmouth*, Sir *Will. Lampton*, *Damon* the Poet, and many others also, that the Counsels of the Prince

and others designed the most valiant of the popish party, to encounter the wing commanded by Lieutenant Generall *Cromwell*; and in particular, Prince *Rupert* had designed certain Troopes of horse, all Irish, and all Papists, to give the first charge to that Brigade, or party in which Col. *Cromwell* was, and that they did confidently believe there was not a man of them but would die, rather then flie, but they miss their expectation, for many of them being slain in the place, the rest fled: Reader, observe who these were, Irish, Papists, Gentlemen, and all old Souldiers that had been in service abroad, either in *Spain*, or *France*; and judge whether its probable these came from *Spain*, and *France*, and fought thus for the Protestant Religion, and Laws of *England*, and where Prince *Rupert* conceives his strength lies, and whom're those he most confides in? Irish Papists. And how miserably blinde the Nobles and Gentlemen of *England* are, who either have, or yet do go along with those Counsels that drive on this war against the Parliament: Do they not now see that wee are most cursedly to come from the Parliament, and had such promises and favours; what was driven at, are not now the Irish Rebels the Court Minions, have they not as much command over his Majestie, as ever *Buckingham* had, do not they say usually, Sir, you must, you shall.

Friday the 19. We were confirmed of the surrender of *Yorke*, and that we were in possession, and that the Articles of accord were comming up: We this day understood of the returne of my Lord of *Denbigh* to *Coventry*, and that Prince *Rupert* was got into *Cheshire*; the forces of Sir *John Meldrum* that were at first commanded back to stop his passage, being after detained for the sooner recovery of *Yorke*.

That Colonell *Cromwell* finding the passages strait, and Musquetiers lining the hedges, thought it not fit to advance any further after the Prince, but is returned to *Yorke* with his horse not worne to skin and bones, but onely breathed a little, the power the Prince hath with him are estimate at 3000. horse, and now being at *Westchester*, its to be feared he will recrute againe, and get an infantry, he found some small opposition in his passage, but rather to our prejudice then his; my Lord *Mulkraue* (who saith the Authour, was the man that with his Regiment routed our right wing in the battell neere *Yorke*, is recruting in *Lancashire*, and its probable will remaine there, to make good that County, but we hope Generall *Lesley* will advance that way, and drive him out, and follow the Prince into Wales, that so my Lord *Fairfax*, and Sir *Thomas* may (being possest of *Yorke*) with three or four thousand horse and foot cleare those parts of all those petty strengths that hold out against them, and the Earle of *Calander* make good the Siege of *Newcastle*, and cleare the coale Trade before winter,

having

having no disturbance from the enemy, which if Generall *Lesley* advance he will hinder.

Sir *William Brereton*, Sir *Thomas Middleton*, and the *Manchester* men may joyne with Generall *Lesley*.

We wish my Lord *Manchester* and his Army may returne and joyne with the forces of Sir *William Waller*, Sir *Arthur Haslerig*, Sir *Molot Lucy*, and so altogether make up a brave and well disciplined Army, that may not spoile and Plunder the poore people, and be past by, but hanged if they take any thing but what they pay for, these joyned may sit down before *Oxford*, and cleare the Countries, that cloth may come to *London*, to revive trade, and make us live againe, and be able to pay contributions that may pay the Armies constantly, which otherway we cannot do.

Saturday we had a more full relation of the proceedings at *Yorke*, as that they within had many things plenty, as Wine, Beare, pretty store of Bread Corne, that many horse came out of the City which we tooke before the Surrender, that when the Garrison marcht out, about 1100. in order, with their Armes, Colours and all things according to Articles of agreement, those souldiers that had by Prince *Ruperts* permission beene disposed of all, contrary to Articles of agreement at *Newarke*, made bold to repaire their losses; all the difference was in this, when they pillaged ours at *Newarke*, the Prince beat some of his Souldiers, that it might appeare he did not approve the thing, but by a Letter intercepted under his hand he joyed, saying, he had sent the Roundheads home naked; and now see what it is to keep Articles of agreement, that which is one mans case this day, may be anothers to morrow, if the war continue, as its to be feared it will too long, it were good this course were altered by consent, and restitution made in case any such thing should hereafter happen, as its like there may.

This day we had Letters from the West, they purport that her Majesty is past the Seas to *Brest* in *France*, and by the help of Oares that rowed the Vessell (and somewhat else its like) better we had spent a Million, now she will have opportunity to try her friends in *France*, and in particular, all the Religious houses, and so get mony, which mony will procure Ships, Ammunition, and other necessities for his Majesty: it seemes she begins to bustle already, and takes hold of our Ships in Harbours, what more, time will shew (and now that the *French* have *Graveling* by accord, its like they may be so full, as to offer, out of their superfluity, to her Majesty, which if they do, there is now no remedy) sure to have catcht a Ship that would have ended our troubles, would have been ventured hard for.

Monday, we understood that his Majesty was yet in person at *Bath*, his forces about *Bruton*, he is about 4000. he labours to bring in the Countrey to his aide: poore people! how are they tost this way and that, they would fain appeare, but see it not safe: the art they use, is to call them to come in with Spades and Shovels, and then compell them to take up Armes. Yet 300 of those went into *Taunton* to Sir *Robert Pie* saith the Letters. Many come in to my Lord Generall also, he is 16000 horse and foot, and is ready to receive the joynt powers of the enemy: he had his head quarter at *Kerton* Friday night last. My Lord Admirall about *Torbay*, P. *Maurice* about or within three miles of *Plimouth*, against whom my Lord Generall is marching, that enemy is counted six or 7000. strong, we feare they will get into *Cornwall*, upon my Lord Generals approach, who is now advancing, and by this day we believe hath overtaken them, if they be not fled, and set poor *Plimouth* at liberty, who hath been off and on blockt up for above this twelve month, they make Boonefires, and feast of both sides for the good successe at the Battell neere *Yorke*; its like her Majestie is gone to *Paris* to have *Te Deums* sung in *Nostere Dame*, for the same victory, for in France the Kings party hath more victories in a month, then in England since the beginning of the war, there is three time as many victories in the Gazets in *Paris*, as there is in *Aulicus*; if *Aulicus* were translated weekly into French, it would be thought that it were done by the Parliaments party, so moderate is it in respect of the extracts of Secretary *Nicholas*, *Windebanke*, my Lord *Digbies* Letters that are weekly sent to the Gazet Master.

The Lord Generall offered to lay *Lime* and *Weymouth* against *Exceter*, that we had the victory neer *Yorke*.

Weymouth and *Lime* is fortifying, the Enemy quits their little Garrisons to augment their Army: Colonell *Massey* wanted horse to his foot, otherwise he had disturbed the Royall Army in their passage, which he will now receive, for we understand Sir *Will. Waller* is advancing from *Abingdon* with, say some, 8000. others six, and all 5000. horse to joyne

with

with Coll. *Massey*, so that we hope those Royall Westerne powers will be ballanced.

His Excellency hath sent many Commanders to *Pembrook* Castle, and those parts, who will have men suddenly, and its but time, for as we hear, the Prince is gone thither to bring a war into his principality, how welcome he will be in that posture, time will shew.

We hear there is a Letter passes up and down in the West, called the Kings, it expresses a desire to have a Committee chosen to consider how the King and his Parliament may come to a right understanding of each other, the Letter it is like goes a birding, for we heare not who brought it, nor to whom it was sent, only its said there is great joy among some in the West, at these expressions of an inclination to Peace, and its wished they may long continue, if cordiall, and reall.

This day the Articles came by the ordinary Post from *Yorke*, and my Lord of *Denbigh*, to *London*.

Tuesday, we were advertised of the increase of Prince *Ruperts* powers to 8. or 9000. we must, what ever comes, destroy his Welch Magazine of men: It is said he hath dispossest the noble Countesse of *Darby* of her command of *Latham* house, and put in a creature of his own, to the great displeasure of her Lord.

The house of Commons have taken into consideration the setling a learned Ministery, which there is much complaint for the want of, and have agreed that all such as shall have Ordination, shall be found men well skilled in Philosophy, Logick, and in the Tongues: If all these and piety must precede, its to be feared an age will not furnish all the Parishes in *England* and *Wales*, for not many wise, not many learned are called; and besides, it is necessary he be Orthodox otherwayes: Many distractions may ensue, but those things will no doubt be after agreed upon.

The Committee of both Kingdomes is also setled by the comming of an Ordinance from the Lords, we wish all honour and good successe may follow their Counsels, and that they may tend to a good and speedy peace.

Colonel *Bremne* is fortifying *Redding*, that the enemy may not at pleasure, as formerly, possesse himself of it, and it is now necessary that we take that way to avoid inroades: *Basing* house continues blockt up, and Ordnance are now come for Battery: these petty holds must be got in, or the Countries will be undone, and contributions wil otherwayes lie too heavy upon others: There are yet the Castle of *Winchester*, which it were good the Garrison of *Chichester* were blocking up, that much annoyes us, and that of *Donnington*, *Wallingford*, and *Banbury*, which it a wonder they in *Northamptonshire* can endure so long under their noses, and not blow it up: We could not hold these Castles, and why should they? *Saturday*, *Northampton* horse went to *Banbury*, and took prisoners my Lady *Dorrels* son, and some 20. horse more.

This day we understood of the certainty of things at *York* by the coming of Coll. *Meuntague*, who came *Thursday* the 18. our forces are come to *Doncaster*: Major Generall *Porter*, Sir *Charles Lucas*, Major Generall *Tillier*, and young *Goring* are coming up, we understand the Souldiers that marched out of *Yorke* with their Colours, and in order, were not molested by our men, onely those that straggled out by thirty, fourty, and fifty of a Company before the time prefixt.

Letters from beyond Seas tell us, there hath been as great a fight at Sea between the Swedes and Danes, as there was at *Lepanto*, the successe is variously reported, some say the Danes have utterly overcome the Swedes, that *Gravelin* is taken by Accord, a sad story to the Spaniard, this ambition of being Universall Monarch is like to prove fatall: The Duke of *Brand.* continues his new leavies, the Transilvani-

ans,

are like to consume the Emperours forces in *Hungaria* by lying still. The *French* are getting a treasury in banke to manage their war for the future, we should do well to take example by them, and also in the carefull disposse of it to those that will not squander all away.

Wednesday we heard that the Lord *Manchesters* forces, and the Scots drew towards *Newark*, and that the Lord *Gray* with his men were gone that way; whether they will stay to besiege it or onely block it up, time will shew.

We also understood the three noble Generals *Manchester*, *Levin*, and *Fairfax* with the Committee in those parts, as a reall thankes to God for their victory neer *Yorke*, and the taking thereof, have sent to the Parliament, desiring propositions of Peace may go forward, but withall desire that the war may be prosecuted, as a speciall meanes to bring about the better termes, and that the businesse of Religion may be setled withall speed in the Church: now that we have had so good successe to desire Propositions of Peace may go forward, can argue nothing but a true desire of peace, and to settle the Kingdom in quiet, and this cannot but content the great desirers of Peace.

By Letters from *Hamburg* we understand, my L. of *Newcastle*, his son, my Lord *Mansfield*, the Lord *Widdrington*, and four other Lords, many Knights and Gentlemen, the whole number amounting to 70. were landed there, if any aske why they landed there? its answered, the winde permitted not the Netherlands.

We have taken a Ship, with 22. piece of Ordnance, and 70. barrels of powder bound for Scarborough, its brought into Sunderland, now that their forces are all gone out of the North, they need no powder, they may spare it us.

This day was a presse, the idle and unprofitable who lie at watch to heare when a presse is, hide themselves, and then judge who goes?

By

By Letters this day we understand, that he was only ... ty of P. Ruperts that went to Chester, and that he ... is yet in Lancashire, he wants Armes and Ammunition ...

Power is given to a Committee to consider of the ... of Delinquents Lands and houses, which are now upon ... for the States service to pay their Armies.

Its like within few houres you will heare of some ... ture tending to peace from his Majesty also: God send ... good end of our trouble, and withall, that we may the ... be upon the backs of the Irish Rebels, for God forbid ... ever they should be included, If our peace end not in the ... tall extirpation of Popery and Episcopacy, better never ... because it can never be otherway stable and perpetuall.

We had forgot one thing that should have come in the ... ginning, its a short description of modest and true valo... Col. *Sidney* being dangerously wounded in the late fight ... and within the enemies power, one stept out of Colonel *Cromwels* party or Regiment, and brought him off with ... any hurt to himself, the Colonel seeing his great love and courage, desired he might know his name, that he might re... ward him, he answered, it was not that he did it for, and therefore for his name he desired to be excused, and so remained unknown to any but himselfe that did it.

In the ship taken and brought to *Sunderland*, there was a le... ter, which came from the English Merchant that sent it ... which saith, he can trade as free in Dutch Vessels to ... North, as he did to the West, and have men of war to con... duct: but sure he speakes more then is true, exceptions for... bring anger, and taunts must not now be taken notice of ... that all justice may be done to any Forraign States, a Com... mittee is appointed to heare, and content all that shall com... plaine, and right them for any wrongs done them.

Printed according to Order, for Robert White.

the Abbey, the Barne and other places to block up the [illegible] fages to it. The latter end of the last [illegible] to summon Bostocke-house near Brill, belonging to the [illegible] *ham*, where the Cavaliers are again beginning [illegible] and to double their Fortifications [illegible] dering the strength and consequence of the place, both [illegible] provisions and carriages passing to London, and to plunder [illegible] the Countrey of all manner of necessaries, and to sen[illegible] into Oxford.

On Munday last July 22. the several Committees for Oxfordshire, Berkshire, and Buckinghamshire went from London towards Reading, where they intend to sit for [illegible] and consult of raising of forces upon all occasions in the [illegible] Consiles.

The Letters from Reading doe also further advertise, that Sir *W. Waller* did lately passe by Bostocke-house, but did not summon it (as was reported) but went thence [illegible] ngford, but upon what designe is not yet known.

The siege of Basing-house still [illegible] Col. *Ionts*, Col. *Morley*, and Col. *Onslow*, and [illegible] there is daily of the taking or surrender thereof, the house being now very much batter[illegible] drew up two of their great pieces something [illegible] to the house then before, so that they have now greater command over it. Colonell *Norton* is come from Sir *Wil. Waller*, and [illegible] with his horse about Winchester-castle to prevent the sallying [illegible] plunderer Sir *Wil. Oagle* into the Countries [illegible] but Basing once taken it would not be long before the Countrey would be [illegible] of the danger [illegible] of the Cavaliers in that and Dennington-castle.

On [illegible] Cavaliers lately [illegible] Brotningham, where they tooke about [illegible] horse, and 60 head of Cattell and carried them away to Lichfield-Close.

But to make part of amends for this [illegible] from Northampton, that on the Lords day last July [illegible] horse there sent thence unto Banbury, which [illegible] the Cavaliers of the Castle issued out upon them, [illegible] repulsed by the Northampton men, forced to retire into the Castle, [illegible] of their horses and 5 prisoners taken, with which our forces [illegible]

turned to Northampton, without the losse of [illegible] only one (and he not dangerously) hurt.

On munday last there came Letters from the Lord Greenvill then upon his march from Tiverton, in which he certified the Parliament, that upon the hearing of His Majesties joyning with *Hopton*, and intending to come [illegible], called a Councell of War, at which it was proposed, 1. whether he should march, backe to meet His Majesties forces. 2. Whether he should set downe before Exceter. 3. Whether he should rouse and disperse the forces which lie at some distance before Plymouth, which are about 3000. under the command of apostate *Greenvill*. The last of which was resolved on by the major part of the Councell; [illegible] the routing of those forces Pr. *Maurice* nor His Majesty could not get any recruit in those parts; [illegible] his Excellency might, with the assistance of the Country have a body sufficient to oppose the Kings forces; unto all which he [illegible] further approbation of the Parliament.

It was then also certified by some who came lately out of the West, that his Majesty lay on Wednesday night July 27. at Wells; that His forces had on the Lord day before [illegible] of the Townes thereabouts, and tooke away all the horse they could get; out of some Townes 20. some 30. some more, some less; but that they were much put to it for Bridles and Saddles for them, which it is thought they can hardly get there. Also we have that a party were sent from His Majesty towards Waymouth, but it is thought they will not besiege it in regard the Governour thereof Colonel *Sydenham* is so brave a spirited man that they can have but little hopes of obtaining it without the losse of much blood, and hinderance of their other designes.

It is also further advertised, that there are 3000. have been sent from Sir *Will. Waller* into the West to wait upon His Majesty at a distance.

On the same day also, There were two popish priests brought to Towne, and committed to Newgate, which were sent up from Scarborough, they were taken as they fled upon Prince *Ruperts* rout neere Yorke, and were priests to the Regiment of the popish party employed to settle the Protestant Religion (as say our lukewarme Malignant a medley protestant) [illegible] often protested by His

Majesty, the one of them his name was Mr. *John Duckett* and the other Mr. *Ralph Corley*, and for the more cleere opening of this business, that the Maglignants may have as full conviction as they be, they have confessed under their owne hands in writing to the effect; *That they were both Priests* and taken by the Parliament forces at Hampsly the 8 of *July* about 9 of the Clock, about saying Masse, that their vestments and other things were taken, and that they tooke orders of Priesthood in *Spaine*, were of the Society of Jesus, and were sent over into *England* to convert Souldiers which they had done, &c.

By letters from Torbay of the 18. Instant, It is advertised, That on the Lords Day June 24. the Queene tooke shipping from Falmouth for *France*, she escaped in this manner: In the morning some of the Ships in the Harbor were seene by some of our Ships that had lay fit waiting thereabouts a week before to set sayle: The first of them that came forth was a fleemish man of War, who comming forth within shot, the Earle of *Warwickes* Vice-Admiral gave him 12. gone in his quarters but he without reply got to windward, and there made out all his sayles, the rest of the Ships being 16 in number followed him, and having got the advantage of the winds avoided all annoyance of our Ships although they made shore an 100. shot at them, and chased them to the very borders of *France* whereupon tooke in at Brest and there landed. The Queene had provided for her securer escape in case those other vessells should have failed, a Galley of 16. oares, which the best vessell in the world could never have coped with. And is she gone againe into *France*? may the wind never fit her to returne the third time into *England*, may all her designes be frustrate, and may that mischiefe that intends to this Kingdome fall upon her owne head. Let not true borne Englishmen that affect not popery, Prelacy or slavery give any assistance to Her, or any that take part with her, but let Her adherents be soone dispatched the same way, either after Her Majesty or the Mr. of Newcastle and the rest, and then if *England* will againe be so stupid as to entertaine forraine forces, may the people of this Age be ever Chronicles for men of most abject and sinful spirits.

There is a booke lately published by stealth, which is pretended to be printed at Oxford (but in truth at *London*,) intituled, *Sacra*

Ne-

Nemesis, or *The Levites scourge*, but in regard of the matter contained in it may rather be called *Iniqua Nemesis*, or a *whip for a malignant Priest*; for the Author thereof (who ever he be) deserves no other reward, for laying such false, groundlesse, and scandalous imputations, both upon the proceedings of the Parliament and the Assembly, in divers things but more especially in the businesse of Doctor *Featly*, a man, &c. of whom it seemes to be a *vindication*; but in conclusion (if no good account be given concerning it:) will prove matter of *Aggravation*. Amongst other passages out of *Diurnalls* and *Scouts*; (as he sayes) he takes notice of and rayles at some out of *Mer. Brittanicus*, to which I question not but *Brit.* will soone give him *a stinging reply*. But hee would also forge something out of his Braine against *Civicus*, and thereupon quotes (as he sayes) a passage *verbatim* out of it and makes a Comment upon it which he calls *a sober reckoning with Civicus*, but upon examination it will be found that he *reckoned without his Host*; and that he was *scarce sober* when he tooke out that passage, perhaps he was intoxicated with drinking Prince *Ruperts health*, or the *Roundheads confusion* at ——— *house*: for in stead of a reall passage out of *Civicus* as was expected; *Parturiunt Montes* (sure he was put-blind) I finde *occurrentis Num.* 2 cited, which is just as if one should cite a passage out of *Missale Romanum*, and impute it unto Doctor *Featleys Clavis Mystica*, which doubtlesse would not be well taken by the Doctor, who may see by this how little hee is vindicated by the publishing of this Booke, which in cavouring to take a blemish from him and lay it upon the Parliament, and Assembly, doth rather leave a more deeper *aspersion* upon him. And so I shall for this time leave it to the Author, wishing that the Keepers of ——— house observe what *Doctors* or *Priests* are most studious and retired and so prevent the publishing of any such scandalous seditious and invective Libells; That they doe not the Kings party as much if not more service in their *confinement*, then they could do in their inlargement.

Since the departure of Her Majesty it is also advertised, that the Lord Admirall hath taken a ship of the King of Denmarkes of great value called the Golden-sun, which is carryed into Portsmouth, there to remaine till the Parliament take order concerning it.

Likewise His Excellency the Earle of Warwicke ships on the Nor-

Northerne seas have not been neglective of their affaires, for they have lately taken a ship comming from Holland laden with Armes intended for Scarborough, she had 16 pieces of Ordnance in her, and is now brought into Hull.

Also, on Wednesday July 24. the Archbishop of Canterbury came againe to his triall in the Lords house, the busines was that day managed by Mr. *Nicholas* who insisted upon the tenth of the Article, *to shew what method and instruments he did use here in England to reduce us to Rome.* For proofe whereof, these Tenets of his and his followers were touched upon:

1. *That the Pope is not Anti-christ*; which he did not only occasionally set downe in his owne Writings, but authorized *Sheffield's* booke, the Title whereof was, *A Treatise shewing the Antichrist is to be yet come, and that the Pope is not held to be Antichrist.*

2. *That the Pope is the chiefe Bishop and head of the Church.*

3. That in his reply to *Fisher*, pag. 376. he saies, *That if the Religion of the Protestants be a false Religion, then the Romish is so too, for their Religion is the same.*

4. *That the Church of Rome is a true Church, and that we differ not from it in fundamentals, but onely in circumstantials.*

5. That for the reconciliation of England to Rome, he did thus derive his pedigree, *That he descended from St. Austin the Monk, St. Austin from St. Gregory the Pope, and St. Gregory from St. Peter, which is the same succession as the Popes of Rome boast of.*

The next was his familiarity and commerce with the Jesuits, Priests, and those most affected to the Popish faction. The first was Secretary *Windebanke*, the greatest and most visible protector of the Priests. The proofe was first from his Diary, June 15. 1632.

Mr. Francis Windebanke my old friend was sworn Secretary of State, which place I obtained for him of my gracious Master King CHARLES.

The next was his holding correspondency with Papists and Jesuites, and amongst other these, *sir Toby Matthews* first a Jesuit, afterwards called father *Price*, a Benedictine Monke, Father *Leander*, *Henry Moss*, who had seduced 500 and odd in Westminster and first of S. Gilses in the Fields, and Father *Smith*, who had a hand in the Gun-powder Treason.

It was also further proved against him, That he had encouraged

and

and discouraged all those whether pursevants, or others who were forward in the apprehension of priests and Jesuits according to the act of Parliament, and particularly one *Bray* who having apprehended one *Fisher* a Romish priest, and caused him to be committed to prison. The priest was afterwards pardoned by His Majesty and banished the Kingdom; the said *Bray* seeing him about a moneth after went about to apprehend him, was abused by the Pr. who told him he had a protection from Sir *F. Windebanke*, of which the said *Bray* going to Lambeth to complaine to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, he could not speake with him, but was answered that he could not attend such frivolous businesses, whereupon the said *Bray* said, *He hoped to see better dayes*. For which the Archbishop complained of him in the *Star-Chamber* and caused him to be imprisoned 14 weeks and when the said Mr. *Brayes* wife petitioned him for her husbands release he threw it away and said, he would have nothing to *do with such priest catching Knaves*. And afterwards before the setting of the high Commission Court openly threatened the other pursevants; That if they imployed the said *Gray* in catching of priests, he would not only imprison them, *but pull their coates over their ears*.

It was further alledged against him; That he had discouraged one *Anne Hussey* who discovered a dangerous plot against the King and Kingdome; The plot was, That a Jesuite declared, *There were 7000 in private pay to cut the throates of the Protestants, and that the King should be killed*; He told her that she was mad, and hired by the Londoners, and that she should be rackt.

Also, that he concealed a conspiracy against His Majesty, and the Kingdome which was revealed unto him in letters from Sir *W. Boswell*, and onely discovered the first part of it, when he thought some Puritans had an hand in it, but when he had further settles (which were found in his study by Mr. *Prynne*) That the Jesuites had an hand in it, he concealed it and made no publication thereof.

There is now onely that 4 Article of his impeachment to be insisted upon.

Tuesday a Thanksgiving was kept at Christ-church, as a returne of their prayers upon the late day of humiliation there, by the surrender of Yorke; among other remarkable passages it was observed

by

by Mr. *Case*, that immediately before the late fight there [illegible] rall Thunder-clags as so many warlike peeces and signals of [illegible] heard from Heaven.

Sir *Wil. Waller* with divers of his forces are come to [illegible]

The E. of Denbigh is come to advise with the Parliament [illegible] cerning the further progress of his Army, and was in the [illegible] Peeres Wednesday July 24. at the Archbishops trial.

Pr. *Rupert*, alias Duke of Plunderland we hear is come to [illegible] with 3000 horse, where he waites for some more of his [illegible] Irish Catholique subjects to advance the Protestant Religion.

The English and Scottish forces have since the surrender of [illegible] divided themselves into severall parties, some towards [illegible] the L. *Fairfax* is in Yorke, some of his forces are sent to [illegible] Knaresborough where Dr. *Bastwicke* is prisoner, [illegible] 1000 Scots and the Earle of Manchester [illegible] arke; also the Earle of Calendar still continuing before [illegible] So that we doubt not but *Multorum omnibus* [illegible] and that the affairs of the Kingdom will through [illegible] goe on prosperously in those parts.

Wednesday July 24. by a Letter from Hamburgh we [illegible] as followeth: Last munday here arrived the Marquess of [illegible] and his two sonnes, Generall *King*, the Lord *Faulkenbridge* [illegible] *Widdrington*, Earle of *Carnworth*, Bishop of London-Derry, [illegible] *William Carnaby* generall pay-master, Sir [illegible] *Carnaby*, Col. *Basset*, Col. *Moton*, Sir [illegible] *Chelmley*, Sir *Fran. Mannerth*, and Sir *Charles Cornish*, and [illegible] others whose names I know not; and these generally report [illegible] was lost on their side, and it well appeared that they were [illegible] with such pannicks feares in their [illegible] themselves to [illegible] little or no provision, insomuch that had they had contrary [illegible] they would have all perished at Sea.

On Wednesday July 24. There came [illegible] to the Parliament from the 3 Generalls neere York; whereby they desire, [illegible] withstanding it hath pleased God to give them [illegible] over Prince *Rupert*, and to deliver Yorke into their hands, [illegible] the Parliament shall thinke fit to send propositions of peace to [illegible] Majesty, but with such tenderness as may stand with the [illegible] of Gods [illegible] religion, the just Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom.

Printed according to Order.

London, Printed for T. B. and J. W. J. and are to be sold in the old Bayley, [illegible]

An exact

RELATION

Of that famous and notable

VICTORIE

Obtained at *Milford-Haven* against the Earle of *Carbery* his Forces; by the Admirall and Vice-Admirall of the Irish Seas.

The manner of the Fight, the taking of the Town of *Tinby*, two Ships and foure Castles, with their Ordnance.

Also a List of the Names of the Commanders taken, with six or seven hundred common Souldiers now prisoners: With their severall Letters and Summons sent to the aboveſaid Towne and Castles, and their Answers.

Written by Captaine WILLIAM SMITH Vice-Admirall and Commander of his Majesties Ship the *Swallow* imployed in that Service:

And by him presented to the right Honourable ROBERT Earle of Warwick, Lord high Admirall of ENGLAND.

Printed according to Order.

London printed by *Moses Bell*, 25. Iuly 1644.

Right Honourable, and my very good Lord:

IN the proceed of the Fleet on our Irish Voyage, you may be pleased to take notice, that on the 18. January 1643. we set saile in Plymouth Sound, and after much fowle weather and contrary winds beating about the Lands end, it pleased God to bring part of the Fleet safe to Anchor in *Milford-Haven* on the 23. of the same, *viz.* the Leopard Regent, the Swallow, the Leopard Merchant, Providence Merchant, and Crescent Frigot, and within three dayes after the Prosperous and the two Lerpoole Vessels came to *Milford*. But through the neglect of Captaine *Plunket* and Captaine *Williams*, the said Vessels were necessitated to continue for the space of seven weeks at *Milford*, it being their charge to have conveyed them to their desired Port. And at our arrivall we found at Anchor in the Haven the Globe of *Bristoll*, and a small ship which arrived at *Milford* eight dayes before we came in, and had brought from *Bristoll* Ammunition to fortifie the Harbour, as great Guns, Powder, Bullet, and other Provisions, and had landed them at *Prickspill*, which lyeth on the North side of the Harbour, where the enemy had made a Fort and fortified it; into which Pill the Globe and the other Ship having made us from the mouth of the Harbour, let slip and run. And my Admirall in pursuit came before the Pill, where were exchanged divers Shots, but no hurt done on either side: The Admirall perceiving no considerable service or execution could be performed on the Fort or Ships, they being drawne about a neck of Land behinde the Fort, he came to Anchor before it within

ſhot, and the Swallow a head of him, and the reſt of the Fleet a head of the Swallow inclining to the Southſide. Some three dayes after in the night the enemy drew a Gun out of the Fort to the Weſtward of the Pill, and at breake of the day began a morning ſalute to the Swallow, who to gratifie their courteſie anſwered them; and after many ſhot their Gun ſplit, and ſo they withdrew it away. At that time it proved very ſtormy weather, in ſo much that our Ships hauled home their Anchors, wherefore upon the firſt opportunity the Leopard and Swallow were inforced to weigh and come to Anchor on the South-ſide before Angle, a Birth where uſually the Kings Ships ride when they come into that Harbour. But ſhortly after the Admirall ſent the Proſperous and the Leopard Merchant, to ride before the Pill, to hinder (if it were poſsible) the ſtrengthning of their Worke, which dayly the enemy aſſaid to doe: From the Ships were divers ſhot made daily at their Works, as alſo from the Fort at the Ships, but no conſiderable dammage received, only the Leopard Merchant received a ſhot in her quarter, which dropt into the Maſters bed. And to annoy the Fort the more, the Admirall (with the joynt conſent of the Commanders) built a Fort on the South ſide over againſt the Pill, and placed therein a Demy-Cannon, wherewith we played into their Works, which was a great incouragement unto many in the County to adhere unto the well-affected party (who at that time were very weake.)

Thus having preſented to your Lordſhip with our proceedings at Sea, in and about the Harbour, you may be pleaſed to take a view of the correſpondence we held aſhore, both with the ill and well affected. After our happy arivall, I call it happy, in reſpect of the great deliverance it pleaſed the moſt mighty Preſerver of all things to afford to the diſtreſſed Inhabitants of *Pembrooke*, and the well-affected Gentlemen of that County. The next morning after we came to Anchor in the Haven, Colonell *Langborne* and the Major of *Pembrooke* came aboard the Leopard, and informed my Admirall with the feeble condition the well-affected party was in, as alſo of the ſtrength, power, and inſolency of the adverſe party: For after the enemy had fortified the North ſide of the Harbour, and intending to fortifie the South ſide within a day or two, had not our arrivall fruſtrated that deſigne. The Enemy preſuming on their ſtrength, caſt off their ſheeps cloathing, in which they had ſo long deluded the people, and demonſtrated

themſelves

themselves to be like unto the rest of their Confederates (Ravening Wolves:) The Earle of *Carbery* having voted that after the Harbour was fortified, hee would plunder the Towne of *Pembrooke*, and the Houses of the Gentlemen who had adhered to that party, and that their persons should be put to death by cruell tortures; the Maior of *Pembrooke*, they said, should be put into a barrell of nailes and brought to *Prickspith*, and from the top of a hill should be rolled downe into the Sea. This report so terrified the Gentlemen, that they fled from their houses and hid themselves in obscure places (in disguise) and sent their wives and children to *Tinbie*, where his Lordship then lay, humbly to supplicate his Lordship to grant them protections that their Houses might not be plundered nor their persons abused by the rude Souldiers, among whom there was a reverent aged Gentlewoman, the wife of one Master *Griffith White*, who had in her house eight sonnes and eight daughters who were Virgins, and foure small grand Children, in all number 20. with divers servants both Male and Female: This Gentlewoman pressing his Lordship to commiserate her sad estate in case her house should be plundered, desired his protection, assuring his Lordship that whensoever he would be pleased to give her husband leave to wait on him, she did not doubt but that her husband would give his Lordship ample satisfaction in all his lawfull demands. His Lordship replied, Hee would finde a time to speake with her husband, but as for a Protection he would grant her none. The Gentlewoman, with teares in her eyes, desired his Lordship to look on her children, who in point of honour hee stood ingaged to protect, as also the chastity of Matrons and Virgins, the which (without his Lordships protection) she said must undoubtedly be violated, and her family perish. To which his Lordship answered with divers reproaches and some Jeasts among, That it were better her children and Family should perish, then that the King should want means to perfect his designe. To which she said, The King could not want, if His Majestie would be graciously pleased to be content with what God and the Laws of the Land have provided. At which his Lordship flung out of the roome, leaving the Gentlewoman with teares in her eyes, and so she departed to her house full of griefe and pensive thoughts. A passage from his Lordship of so barbarous a deportment, that I beleeve History can scarce parallel to have proceeded from any Heathen: And if these be the

loyall Subjects who fight for the Gospell, the Kings Honour, and the Subjects Liberty, I leave it to every mans judgement to determine.

The lamentable condition of the well-affected, being by the Admirall and Commanders disputed; It was demanded of Colonell *Langhorne* and the Major, what force the well-affected party was able to rayse, to oppose his Lordship: It was by them repl-ed, that they could not rayse above 40 Horse, and about 60 Foot: Then it was demanded, in case there should be 200 Sea-men landed well armed, whether they would joyne with them in endeavouring to drive his Lordship out of the County, for unlesse they would be active, they must resolve to prepaire to goe away with the Fleet, in regard a consumption of Victualls would force us to depart that harhour; The Colonell and Major, with the well-affected Gentry, like gallant men, who had rather dye then outlive the honour of their Country, or to see the ruine thereof, by a Jesuiticall & Popish Faction, resolved to put themselves under the providence of the Almightie, and with the helpe of our Sea-men to affront the Enemy, the which was without delay put in execution: And on the 13 of *February* we fell on a Garrison of the Enemies, in a strong hold called (*Stackpoole*) the Mannor house of one Master *Roger Lort*, one which with our great Guns, having made a breach after 8 houres assault, we tooke with the losse of two men, and many wounded on both sides; shortly after they fell on another Garriton of the Enemies, called (*Troyffloine*) lying within a mile of *Tinbye*, out of which Towne his Lorship issued with about 100 Horse and Foot, intending to have relieved *Troyffloine*, and faced our Forces, on whom we let flye a peece of Ordnance, whereat his Lordship wheeled about with all his Forces, and ran into the Towne; Our Forces persecuting there assault upon the Garrison, tooke it, and therein 40 Horse, and 150 Armes, with the losse of two men on our side, and six on the Enemies. God giving our small Forces this good successe, they retired to *Pembrooke* to refresh their men, and to inable themselves for a more potent designe on the Enemy, intending to oppose their whole bodie which consisted 1200 men, foot and horse, which lay in and about *Haverford-West*, then his Lordships Rendezvouze; but his Lordship hearing of this designe, having fortyfied *Haverford-West*, and placed most of his strength there; his Lordship like a valiant Commander with 20. Horse, some foot, and 4. feild peeces (ranne away)

away) telling the reſt of the Commanders that he road unto the adjacent County to raiſe more forces, and that he would ſuddenly returne. Now when our men were refreſhed and 6. field pieecs mounted on Carriages, with Wagons to convey there Amuniti-on and Victualls, they reſolved to fall on the fort at the Pill, and on the 22. of Feb. Colonell *Langborne* and the Major of *Pembroke* ſent aboard the Admirall, to deſire that our boates might be ſent to the paſſage to convey over on the enemies ſide there Artillery, Wagons, and Proviſions, the which was done on Fryday the 23. And about three of the clocke in the morning they were all lan-ded, conſiſting of about 300. Horſe and Foot, with ſixe field Pieces of Ordnance, who proceeding on their march, their Horſe in the front, advanced before the Pill; about twelve a clocke at noone our Ships alſo were at Anchor before the Fort, the Leo-pard Regent and the Swallow road to the Weſtward, and the Pro-ſperous and the Leopard Merchant road to the Eaſtward, plying our Ordinance into the Fort, and when our land forces had drawne up their Artillery, they played into the Fort from a hill which lay to the Eaſtward of it, and were anſwered againe; The Horſe and Foot did skirmiſh from their Ambuſcodoes, but on this day no man was either ſlaine or hurt on either ſide, night comming on, cauſed a Ceſſation: Our land Forces quartering about their Artillery, lay in the field before the Fort, it being a bitter cold night. The next morning being Saturday, the 24. by breake of the day, from our Ships and land Forces, we began to plye our Ordnance, from the *Swallow* was a ſhot made into the Fort which tooke off the head of one man, and the poſteriours of another, of which he dyed the next day; our Horſe and Foot behaved them-ſelves valiantly that day, and beat the Enemy from their Ambuſ-cadoes, and with the Enemy entred their Fort; and then the Ene-my cryed quarter, the which our Commanders in Immitation of their Heavenly Father, who is the God of mercy, granted farre above their deſerts and ſpared their lives, who had formerly voted that if they ſhould prove Conquerours, they would kill the Dogs, and raviſh the Bitches, and drowne the Whelpes: moſt inhu-maine language! did it not proceed from thoſe that adheare to the Beaſt? And therefore proper for them to ſpeake diabolicall and beaſtiall language. In the Fort were taken. Armes 160. peecs of Ordnance 18. Souldiers 240. Commanders 26. their names and qualities are expreſſed in the Schedule annexed. In the *Pill* were

taken

taken two Ships, *viz.* The *Globe* of *Briſtoll*, in her 12 peeces of Ordnance, and by a ſhot from the *Globe*, was one of the *Swallow* men ſlaine on the ſhoare by his owne folly, the other Ship called the *Providence*, had belonging to her 10 great Guns, but the enemy had carried them to *Haverford-Weſt*; In the taking of this Fort, the protecting power of the Almightie, I hope by us ſhall never be forgotten, for it was his owne arme that got the Victory, to whom be aſcribed, all honour and glory for ever and ever; for in taking thereof, there was not one man ſlaine either by Sword or ſmall ſhot. When the Enemy was routed, ſome of their Souldiers fled to *Haverford-Weſt*, and informed the Commanders there, of the loſſe of the Fort, and that all their Commanders and Souldiers therein were taken Priſoners: At which newes, it is reported Sir *Henry Vaughan*, with the reſt of the Commanders, began to rage and ſweare, (like mad-men) and as a Beare robbed of her whelpes, ran up and downe the ſtreets, (crying) beat up our Drums, gather our Horſe and Foot together, for we will out this night and be revenged of the Round-headed Parliament Dogs; and having with this bravado drawne their Forces into a bodie, being about 450. Sir *John Stepney* the Governour of that Towne, like a prudent Overſeer went into the Churchyard to ſee if he could diſcerne our Forces to approach towards *Haverford-Weſt*; about halfe a mile from the Towne he diſcovered a heard of young black Bullocks comming towards him; thoſe horned beaſts ſo amuzed the Knight, that being afraid of his owne ſhadow, his Worſhip ran to the head of their Forces, and ſwore (Gods wounds) the Round-headed Dogs were comming; at which report they marched out of the Towne, and calling to minde the valiant example of their Lieutenent-Generall *Carbery*, they wheeled about and ranne away: The Boyes of the Towne perceiving them to run, fell on their Rear, and tooke from them 60. Muskets. This diſorder in the Rear made thoſe in the Front beleeve that the Round-heads were at their heels indeed, the feare thereof metamorphoſed all her couzen Taffies into Mercuries, and with winged ſpeed every man fled for his life, ſome threw away their Armes, and thoſe that had the charge of the Powder flung it into the River; and in this manner was the Towne of *Haverford-Weſt* ſurrendered, verifying that ſaying of the Kingly Prophet *David*, *The wicked flyeth when no man purſueth them*: when the enemy fled, they left behinde them in *Haverford-Weſt* 100. red Coats which were never worne,

worne, a quantity of Victuals, & 10. peeces of Ordnance, all which argued, they wanting nothing but a good Cause to maintaine.

Now our Forces being againe refreshed, having a Demy-cannon and a Demy-culverine mounted on field Carriages, and being supplyed from our Ships, with Powder and all other Ammunition, they marched towards *Tinbye* the sixth of *March*, on the same day the *Swallow* and *Crescent* Frygot, with the *Prosperous Marchant*, set sayle from *Milford*, and came to anchor before *Tinbye*, where I summoned the Governour and Major, to surrender the Towne for the service of King and Parliament, but receiving a negative answer, I desired the Governour and Major, to send out of the Towne all the women and children, for unlesse they would comply, I must in discharge of my duties use my utmost endeavours to force them thereunto: The same night our land Forces came within two mile of the Towne, from whence Colonell *Langhorne* sent aboard the *Swallow*, and desired me to summon the Towne, the which I had done before his Letter came, and returned the Colonell their answer, and receiving no satisfaction from the Governour or Major, the next morning about eight of the clocke we began to play into the Town with our Ordnance from our ships, & about one a clocke in the afternoone our land Forces came before the Towne, and having placed their Demy-cannon within a quarter of a mile of the Towne they fell to battery, and so we continued three dayes; the small shot on both sides performed well, the Towne was maintained with brave resolution, and more bravely assaulted by our Sea-men and Land-men, presenting their naked bodies even in the face of danger; Commissary *Guinn* Governour of that Towne, shewed himselfe to be a man of undaunted spirit, issuing out of the Towne bringing up his small shot to make good their Ambuscadoes, and his valour exposed that Towne to unavoydable misery, in vowing he would neither give nor take quarter; but I may say of his valour as S. *Paul* said in another case, to certain Christians in his time; *Shall I praise him for this, no, I praise him not*; for all our actions that tend not to the glory of God, lead us to our destructions; to which indeed this resolution of his had almost brought him, for leading on his men to face our small shot, who plyed their Musquets so fast, that his men forsooke him, and himselfe received a shot under his right pap, which inforced him to retreat alone in a orderly pace; he was no sooner entred the

Towne, but the Master Gunner thereof was also slaine, in which we must not omit to manifest Gods providence towards us; for our small shot having forced the Enemy out of their Ambuscades, pursued them also to the Towne-gate, their Gunner having loaden a peece of Ordnance with case shot, and watching for such an opportunitie, having traversed the Gun, said to those that stood by, *You shall see me make a slaughter of those Round-heads*: At which words, a small shot from our Forts hit him in the head, after which he he never spake more; whose fall so daunted the Enemy, Commanders, & Souldiers, that forthwith they cried out for quarter: The first that forced their entry into the Town was C. *Peter Whittie*, with his company of Sea-men and sub-ordinate Officers, Lieutenant *Greene* and Ensigne *Dodson*, with Lieutenant *Colte*, who led on the *Swallow* men, and immediately after them Colonell *Langborne* with his Troopes of Horse. This Towne of *Tinbie* was held by the judgement of the most Judicious almost impregnable, it being not to be entred but by single foyle, wherein were taken betweene three or 400 Prisoners, as many Armes, 7 peeces of Ordnance, all which were taken on Saturday the 9 of *March*, and on Sunday the 10. *Carew-Castle* was surrendered, in which was consummated the totall subduing of that Malignant & insulting Partie. In the County of *Pembroke*, wherein the Lord of Hosts gave his servants the Victory over his and their Enemies, which gives us just cause to put our confidence in him, and in that comfortable Ejaculation expressed by holy *David*, to cry and say, by this we know, *That thou Lord favourest us, in that thou hast not suffered our Enemies to triumph over us.*

The true Relation of him, who is a most humble and faithfull Servant in this great Worke, according to the trust reposed by your Lordship.

A

A List of the names of the worthy valiant Commanders now in action in the County of *Pembrooke*, in the service of the King and Parliament, which opposed the Earle of *Carbery*.

Rowland Langborne Colonell, and Commander in chiefe.

Simon Thelwell Colonell, and Voluntier.

Thomas Langborne Serjeant-Major.

Captaine *Rice Powell*.
Captaine *Walter Coney*.
Captaine *Iohn Poyer*.
Captaine *Peter Whitty*.
Lieutenant *Owgin*.
Lieutenant *Richard Ienes*.
Coronet *Powell*.

A List of the names of the Malignant Commanders taken prisoners at the *Pill*, with their inferiour Officers in the County of *Pembrooke*, by those gallant Commanders above specified, viz.

Iohn Barlow Esquire, Master of the Ordnance, and Captain of a troop of Horse.
Captaine *Edmond Bradshaw*.
Captaine *Iohn Bradshaw*.
Captaine *Iohn Butler*.
Captaine *Arnold Butler*.
Captaine *William Mary-Church*.
Captaine *Iohn Price*.
Captaine *Francis Edmonds*.

From the Earle of *Carbery* we took in this action foure Castles, 53. peece of Ordnance, about six or seven hundred souldiers, as many Arms, and the whole County of *Pembrooke* totally subdued, and unanimously have taken the Covenant, and there is great hopes that *Carmarthen* and *Cardigan-shire* will comply with us.

Commanders run away from *Haverford-West*.

Sir *Henry Vaughan* Major-Generall of the Army.
Sir *Iohn Stepney* Knight and Baronet, Governour of *Haverford-West*.
Sir *Francis Floyde* Knight, Captaine of a troop of Horse.
Iames Martin Captaine of a troop of Horse.
Captaine *Iohn Edwards*.

Commanders taken at *Tinby*, with their inferiour Officers.

Iohn Gwyn Governour of *Tinby*, and Commissary of the Army.
David Gwyn Colonell.
Thomas Butler Lieutenant Colonel and high Sheriffe for the County of *Pembrooke*.
Captaine *George Lewis*.
Captaine *Thomas Methell*.

A Letter sent in generall to the Gentlemen of the County of *Pembroke*, at the request of the well-affected.

Gentlemen,

AS in duty bound, I have alwayes in all fidelity highly honoured my King, and ever beene a lover of my Country, and as I stand ingaged, God hath called me to be a servant to both; and in discharge of the trust imposed, I am come hither to desire your compliance in the protection of the Gospell in its inherent purity, as also the Kings honour, with the Subjects liberty, a worke that every good Christian and loyall Subject ought to be active in, with tender of both his life and fortunes, in which you have the obligation of our Saviour to save you harmlesse, who saith, *If any man shall hazard his life or fortunes, or what is deare, done unto him for my sake, shall undoubtedly preserve them*: And for your further security, you have three Kingdoms in the body of the Parliament ingaged. Now why stand you gazing like the timorous Israelites on the host of the Philistims? Did not a little youth, *David* by name, being inspired with the Spirit of God slay their Champion, and overthrew that idolatrous Host? And shall a Jesuiticall and Popish Army, with a malignant party as odious in the sight of God as those cursed Philistims, make you dismayed? No, be comforted, God and the State hath presented unto you a more probable meanes of deliverance in sending this Fleet to your preservation, consisting of twelve warlike Ships, with store of Ammunition and Land Forces, the major part whereof is not yet come in, occasioned by foule weather at Sea; but upon the first

first opportunity of winde and weather undoubtedly will arrive; and by Gods assistance I am confident, That if the Gentlemen of this County will joyne with me in my endeavours, I make no doubt but we shall drive that Malignant rout (who endeavour to inslave this Nation under the yoke of the Antichristian beast) not onely out of this County, but consequently out of the Dominion of *Wales*: wherefore I shall desire the Gentlemen to give me their speedy resolutions; and if any of them shall not comply, let such looke for no favour from me, if it shall please God to send us the victory, but what Gods enemies and destroyers of the Country deserve. And let not any mans heart be afraid, for God hath promised to be with his in his protecting power, even to the end of the world, to whose protection I commit you all: And expecting your Answer, I remaine and rest

Ever ready to ingage my life with you in this great worke,

Not answered.

A Copy of the Declaration of the Honourable Houses of Parliament now sitting at Westminster, bearing date the first of February comming to my hand, I caused divers Copies thereof to be taken, and with the Letter following I sent one to Pembrooke, *another to* Haverford-West, *and one to* Tinbie.

Gentlemen,

THat you may see with what sincerity of heart we desire you may be reduced to a right understanding of the unhappy condition you are now in, we shal not neglect neither our Pen nor Sword, the one to discover unto you the strong delusions of that Antichristian beast, with whom it is foretold in holy Writ, *That the kings of the earth shall agree in confederacy*, as also they with him undoubtedly must perish, and many millions of poore soules so misled. Oh be wise, and timely prevent such certaine ruine by uniting your selves with the true Professors of the Gospell, by whom God hath said, he would pull that beast from his Throne, *and they shall reward him sevenfold for all the evill he hath done unto the Saints*. Now if you shall joyne with us in this great worke, then shall

shall our Swords be active in your preservation; and for your more ample satisfaction we shall present you with a most perspicuous Perspective, wherein you may perceive the perfect way both to your Terrestriall and Celestiall felicity, being a Copy of the last Declaration of the Honourable Houses of Parliament; the which if you please to peruse with a discerning judgement, you may see with what zeale and care those Worthies of our Land have endeavoured to remove from your eyes those Antichristian mists, through which (as with an *Ignis fatuus*) you have beene so long misguided. And because we know that the Patient thirsts after the Cure we refer you to the application of the meanes presented in that Declaration; the which if they may give you that satisfaction as may make you truly happy in joyning with us, our endeavours are fully satisfied, and you shall ever finde us yours,

Richard Swanley.

William Smith.

The Summons to the Towne of TINBIE.

Gentlemen,

IN a former Letter unto you, wherein was presented the late Declaration of the Honourable Assembly of Parliament; Wee the Commanders of His Majesties Ships, desired your Resolutions, whether you would comply in the contents thereof, and joyne with us in the preservation of the Gospell, the Kings Honour, and the Kingdomes Safetie, to expell the Forces brought into the County by the Earle of *Cashery*, but receiving no answer, Wee are now come before your Towne, to let you know, that unlesse you forthwith yeeld obedience thereunto, Wee shall use our best indeavours to force it. In which, if it shall please God to deliver you into our hands, you must expect no other favour then what is due to Traytors, both to God and their Country; wherefore I advise you seriously to consider, and wisely to provide for your present and future safety, and let us receive your speedie Answer, that by your timely adhearing to us, you

may

may prevent the demolishing of your Towne by the battering it about your eares with our Ordnance, and hoping you will preserve it as also the effusion of much blood by your sweet complyance, Wee remaine and rest

As you may give us cause, your faithfull Friends to protect you.

Post-script.

We further declare, That if the Commanders and Souldiers shall joyne with you in the surrendring of your Towne that they shall have quarter for their lives and to go whether they please, or continue and be received into the service of King and Parliament.

Their Answer.

Gentlemen,

YOurs we formerly received, with a Declaration their inclosed, which was required from us before we could peruse the contents therof, which was the cause of our not returning any Answer therunto, yours of this present we have received, wherein you desire us to complye with you for the preservation of the Gospell, and His Majesties Honour, which is the worke we have vowed to maintaine with our lives and fortunes; and so doing, we hold our selves true Subjects, to God, our King, and Country. And whereas you threaten the demolishing of our Towne, which is not ours to dispose of, but His Majesties, all which we pray you to take into your serious considerations, as also the cry of the effusion of much innocent blood; for Ane sweare from the Commanders and Souldiers, we referre you to the Letter you shall receive from the Governour of the Towne and Fort. Thus with our best respects, we take leave, and rest

Tinbie 6th March, 1643.
44.

Your ever loving Friends if you please,

Richard Wyett Major.
David Hamond.
Richard Prichard.
John Rogers.
Francis Longe.

The

The Summons of the Caſtle of *Tinbie.*

Gentlemen,

THeſe are to require you, that upon ſight hereof, you immediately yeeld up the Fort to the uſe of the King and Parliament; and ſo doing, you ſhall be received into the protection of that Aſſembly and injoy the benefit of Loyall Subjects: But in caſe you ſhall continue in your Rebellion you muſt expect to be proceeded againſt as Traytors to your King and Country, and enemies to God and the Proteſtant Religion; For if you ſhall make one ſhot at the King and Parliaments Ships, not one of you ſhall eſcape for his life if it ſhall pleaſe God to give us the Victory. Conſider of it, and let me receive your Reſolutions, in which if you pleaſe you ſhall find me

Your faithfull Friend to preſerve.

Their ANSWER.

Gentlemen,

THis Towne we hold as loyall Subjects to the Kings Majeſtie uſe, for defence thereof we have his Majeſties gracious Commiſſion, which we will endeavour to maintaine with the hazard of our lives and fortunes againſt all oppoſers, by what colour or pretence ſoever. This is the reſolution of

John Guyan.
David Guyan.
Thomas Boden.

FINIS.

A Relation of the Articles of Yorke, Earle of Newcastle, and who with him are arrived at Hamburgh. The Queene is gone to France, Sir William Waller at Abingdon, Rupert at Lewis-poole; expectation of Irish to come to him, a Denmarke Ship taken, the King gone towards Exeter, the Lord Generall is beyond Exeter, the Scots at Dorchester, Sir Iohn Meldrum is made Governour of Yorke; the Protestant party in Ireland are advanced into the Field.

Be Wise as Serpents, Innocent as Doves.

THE SCOTISH DOVE

Sent out, and Returning;

Bringing Intelligence from the Armies, and makes some Relations of other observable Passages of both Kingdoms, for Information and Instruction.

From Saterday the 20. of July, to Friday the 26. of July.

YOu may remember that in my last weekes Intelligence, I told you of the delivery of the Cito of *Yorke*, (which was an infallible argument against the unbeleeving slotted Malignants) I told you it was delivered upon conditions, and made relation of the Reasons and causes of severall demurs in the three Generalls, why they

stayed storming when they were severall times intended to storme the City, I also told you that I stayed my Dove in her Coop, one night longer then she was fitted for flight; onely that she might not goe out without giving you intelligence of the Articles agreed upon, which came not perfectly to the view till Munday; and although they have been related already at large before my Doves comming out; yet for the satisfaction of all that accept my Relation, I shall make that the first of my Doves Messige, the sum of all is this.

1. *That* Sir Thomas Glemham *as Governour of the City of York, and Colonell Generall of the North, &c. shall deliver up the same City of Yorke to the three Generalls for the King and Parliament, with the Forts, Towers, Canon, Ammunition, and furniture of Warre belonging thereunto, the sixteenth of July instant, by the hours of eleaven in the forenoone, in manner, and upon the conditions after written.*

2. *That the Governour, and all Officers and Souldiers, both Horse and Foot of Cliffords Tower, of the Sconce, of the Traine, and one Troop &c. shall march out of the City with their Armes, flying Colours, Drums beating, Matches lighted, Bullet in their mouth, and with all their bagge and baggage, and every Souldier have twelve charge of Powder.*

3. *That they shall not march above ten miles a day, and that they shall have accommodation of Quarter, and convaniency of Carriages, and three Troops of Horse for their Convey, one out of each of the three Armies, to Sciptoh, or the next Garrison towne within fifteene miles towards Prince Ruperts Army.*

4. *That the sick and Wounded Souldiers shall have liberty to stay in the City till they be recovered, and then shall have Passe given them to goe to the Princes Army, or to their owne houses, or whither else they please; and that it may be recommended to the Lord Fairfax for their Cure, or being ill.*

5. *That all Officers and Souldiers, their Wives, Children, or Servants, may have liberty to goe along with their Husbands, Masters, &c. or to them, or if they please to returne to their owne houses, and to pay such contributions as the rest of the Country pays.*

6. *That no Officer or Souldier be plundered in their march.*

7. *That no man shall intice any Officer or Souldier as they passe from towne, with any promise or reward, &c.*

8. *That the Citizens and Inhabitants shall enjoy their Trade and Priviledges as formerly they did at the beginning of these troubles, paying such Customes as all Cities and Townes under obedience to King and Parliament.*

9. *That*

9. *That the Garrison that shall be placed in* Yorke *shall be two third parts at least of* York-shire *men, and no free quarter shall be put upon any, and that the Army shall not enter the City.*

10. *That in all charges the City shall but beare onely such part with the Country at large, as was formerly used in all other assessments.*

11. *That all Citizens, Gentlemen, residents, Sojournours, and every other person within the City shall at any time when they please have free liberty to remove themselves, their Families and Goods, and to dispose thereof at their pleasures, either to live at their owne Houses or elsewhere; and to enjoy their goods and estates without molestation, and to have protection and safety to that purpose, &c.*

12. *That all Gentlemen and others whatsoever, that have Goods within the City, and are absent themselves, may have free liberty to take, carry away, and dispose of those goods as in the last Article.*

13. *That neither Churches, nor other buildings be defaced, nor any plundering, or taking of any mans person, or of any part of his estate, and that Justice according to Law shall be administred in all cases, by the Magistrate within the City.*

14. *That all persons whose dwellings are in the City, though now absent, may have the benefit of these Articles, as if they were present within the City.*

At the day and about the houre mentioned in these Articles the Towne was delivered, and the three Generalls entred, and went (as last weeke we told you) to the Minster, where they heard a Sermon, and by prayers gave thankes to God for their victory, and for the possession of the Towne without bloudshed; the Major of the Towne having of his owne accord commanded the Organs to be taken downe, and entertaining them with much submission and content; onely some of the Souldiers (whether by consent of their Commanders, or out of their owne malignity I can not say) broke their conditions, and broke and spoyled divers Armes and Ammunition before they went out of the Towne; yet such was the honour and tender mercy of the three Generalls, that they tooke no advantage thereupon, which they might justly have done, but let them depart, observing on their part every Article. There was left in the City about thirty five pieces of Ordnance, about three thousand Arms, five or six barrells of Powder, store of Shot great and small, Match, and other Ammunition; all which was surrendered by sir *Thomas Glenham* into the Magazine, and so to the possession of the three

victorious Noble Generalls, onely there fell out this accident, that as the Souldiers marched away, some of the English Souldiers who were abused, plundered, and stript at the defeat before *Newarke*, contrary to the conditions there made, thought good to demand their owne, or something in liew of it, and made bold with some of the Baggages Baggage; which although it were but just requitall, yet they were sharply reproved by the three Generalls, and some of them punished for example, but it is just that Covenant-breakers should faile of performance of Covenants, therefore they may thank themselves, and remember to keepe Covenant hereafter, that they may have all Covenants kept with them.

On Wednesday by severall Letters was certified, that the Earle of *Newcastle* (who fled from *Yorke* to *Scarsbrough*, and there with his company tooke Ships,) arived the eight day of this instant at *Hanbrough*: there was by name the Earle of *Newcastle*, the Lord *Widdrington*, Lord *Faukland*, the Earle of *Newcastles* Brother and his two Sonnes, Lord *Dyle*, Lord *Canwick* a Scotchman, Generall Ker, sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, sir *Charles Candis*, sir *Edw. Widdrington*, sir *William Carnaby*, sir *Thomas Denham*, the Bishop of Londonderry, and many other of note and quality, to the number of 180. when they came into *Hanbrough* the Deputy would have entertained them in the English House, but the Companies and Merchants would not suffer it, they being enemies to the Kingdome and State of England; so they were put to seeke their owne entertainment and Lodgings where they could find it, &c. They have spunne a fair thred, but it was spoyled in the weaving.

Now I would aske *Aulicus* if he will yet give his disciples leave to beleeve that Prince *Rupert* was beaten, or whether he will have them still ring the Bells, and make Bonefires for his victory. And you Malignants, unbeleevers, Atheists, and enemies to God, tell me whether you have not been abused and deluded by *Aulicus* his Pen, as the poore Countries have, and are by the Array-mens powers; will you still seeke to destroy a Parliament that God hath established? will you over-throw a Kingdome where Iesus Christ doth and will raigne? will you pull downe Christ from his Throne and set up Antichrist? your will shall be your woe, Christ will raigne, and crush you all in peeces; *It is hard to kick against pricks, you are no stronger then God*; if you can yet repent, God will forgive; *if you will not repent, you shall all perish.*

Were

Were you but as wise as the Heathen Counsell of Malignant *Haman*, you would say to your selves, and to your Malignant friends, as they said to *Haman*, *Seeing God hath taken into his owne hand the cause of his people, before whom we have begun to fall, we shall not prevaile but shall surely fall before him*; This is for Malignants reflection.

Now I have a word to say to the busie Zelots, such as are censurers of others actions, but will act nothing themselves; they murmure against God and men, and are ever ripening at the blessing of God, except it come in their owne season and latitude. Hence it is that some repine at the Conditions for the surrender of *Yorke*, saying, they were too honourable to the enemy, and it might have been had on better termes. To such I briefly say: First, there is eminent danger in the storming any Towne, and cannot be without the losse of many men. Secondly, the Armies before *Yorke* were much wearied out by long and hard service. Thirdly, much time would have been lost by storming, and the worke retarded; which calls for the assistance of that Army in other parts of the Kingdome. Fourthly, The City would have been wholly spoyled and ruinated, our friends and enemies must have suffered alike together. Fifthly, The Inhabitants would have been disabled to yeeld any contribution to the Armies, who are now able to yeeld large supplyes. Sixthly, The spoyle of the City would have been the weakening, if not breaking of our Armies. Seventhly, Obedience wonne by mercy is more sure and safe, then that which is violently compelled. These and many other things considered, we have cause of thankfulnesse to God and men for this mercy; and to be humbled for our murmuring, which is a great sinne, and too many in the great City of *London* are guilty thereof.

The three Generalls (as we are certified) have sent Summons to all the Garrisons in *York-shire*, to surrender upon the same conditions that *Yorke* hath done.

Colonell *Massie* hath lately taken sixty Horse, and Prisoners of the Kings plunderers, and hath by his diligence greatly preserved those parts of the Country from plundering; notwithstanding his strength is weake, and by reason of the many Garrisons he hath lately taken, and man'd with his owne men, and some of his Horse are still with sir *William Waller*.

At the taking of *Barstable* one Captaine *Howard* was taken in the

the Towne, who was as perfidious a runagade as Scellum *Grinvile* and was honourably hanged, as in good time Scellum *Grinvile* may be. In revenge hereof *Maurice*, and sir *John Berkley* Governour of *Exeter*, have hanged an innocent Captaine, which was prisoner in *Exeter* at least twelve moneths, his name was *Turpine*: I protest I doe hate cruelty, and revenge; yet in a due execution of Iustice I could wish that, that mans death were avenged, by the hanging of one hundred of the Hell-hounds which are in our custody, and trouble every place as men excluded Heaven, and that the earth blusheth to beare; therefore fit to be elevated between both.

The Queene is gone into *France*, and hath taken with her old *Brissoll* the Spanish Don, and young *Iermin* the ingentle Earle; I with confidence beleeve the English are not more glad of their absence, than the French will be sorry for their company; they know of what wood the old Block was, and the Chip must needs be the same; they stinke all Spanish.

Prince *Rupert* we heard lately was marcht towards *Worcester*, but now there is certaine Intelligence that he is at *Leaver-poole* in *Lancashire*, he every day expects the performance of promise from the bloudy *Irish* to come to his assistance, his recruites grow hard in *England*, if *Ireland* faile his long hopes, he must needs run too, it was prodigious to the Prince that his Dogge and his Gold should both lost in a day. There is for certaine not onely an expectation of *Irish*, but a hasty preparation to transport them; which is the confidence of *Rupert*.

There was a Noble-man brought to *London* that hath lately deserted *Oxford*, it was the Lord *Rich*; *Rupert* is no Kin to him, the name is not agreeable; but they say there is none sorrowes in *Oxford* for this Lords absence, nor any that joyes in *London* that he is come thither; he may be where he can, he can doe no great hurt to any cause, nor much good to himselfe.

The Earle of *Denbigh* came to *London* on Munday night, his Forces are in *Warwickeshire*: the cause of his comming will be better knowne after a few dates, which for the present I may not mention; I doe confidently beleeve he is a reall carefull man of the Kingdomes good, and in particular of the Counties of *Warwicke* and *Stafford*, &c. as one who is wise, just and valiant; all which time will make manifest.

Sir *William Waller* is at *Abington*, where he is fortifying, it being

ing between *Oxford* and *Wallingford* the Kings chiefe Garrisons in those parts, which he (no doubt) will keep in some awe.

There is a lusty ship taken by the Earl of *Warwick*, and is brought in to *Portsmouth*, she is a *Denmark* vessell, her name is the golden Sunne; what her lading is, or whither she was bound I am not well informed.

The King is marched towards *Exeter*, the last certaine place where he was, was *Bruton*; it is conceived the intention is to joyne all their Westerne Forces into one body; *Maurice*, *Hopton*, and his Majesty, that they may be all beaten at once, and the whole West gained at a blow, as the North is likely by that one blow to *Rupert*; when God takes the worke in hand it will prosper: *Ruperts* Dogge, nor Divell, cannot hinder.

His Excellency the Lord Generall *Essex* is (as is certified) gone beyond *Exeter* into *Devonshire* towards *Cornwall*; by Letters from him he gives notice of the Kings advance, which he feares not; he desires that the Parliament will be carefull to supply him with some things desired, which they had in a manner cared for before his Letters came to their hand.

From *Yorke* is certified, that by a true and exact account given in by the Church-wardens and others, that the slaine at *Marston Moore* were in number foure thousand one hundred fifty eight. It is also certified that there were taken Prisoners by the Scotch Army one thousand two hundred, and by the English about six hundred, at the yeelding to deliver up the City of *Yorke* upon the Conditions aforesaid; and notice given thereof to the Souldiers in the Towne, a great number presently threw down their Armes, and many of them came to the English and Scots Armies, and divers went to their owne dwellings in the Country; in so much that there was not fully one thousand to march out of the City. And as soone as they were marched through the Scottish Guard, which was the nearest to the Towne, some of the Earle of *Manchesters*, and Lord *Fairfax* Souldiers who were at *Newarke* abused, cryed out, *Remember Newarke*, *remember Newarke*; and (as I have before related) notwithstanding all that the Officers could doe, they would have some pillage; much good may it doe them, they did but remember the enemy what they have done, not require them with such cruelty, or savage inhumanity, as was by the enemy offered at *Newarke*.

We are informed that the three Generalls have desired (if the

Parliament

Parliament thinke meete) to send Propositions of Accom
to the King, notwithstanding their glorious victories; so
with such cautions as may well stand with the establish
Protestant Religion, the Lawes of the Kingdome, and
the subject.

The Counsell of Warre at Yorke had a debate lately
their Armies should march, viz. The Scottish, and the
Manchesters, the Lord *Fairfax* being to stay in Yorke
reducing some Garrisons; in debate it was found impossible
Armies to march to Blackstone-edge, or Skipton after Prince
for though the Prince came that way, yet it is all the way
York: and though the Prince went that way, yet he had
ges: And if they should have followed, he might have be
ford before they could get to Manchester, and therefore it
solved that they should march to Doncaster, and there refr
selves in fresh quarters, having also advantage to prevent
coming South, or to advance towards any other parts, as
shall require.

Sir *John Meldrum* is made Governour of York: The Ir
lish Commissioners who were at Oxford, opposers of the
their Articles, and (at the Kings flight thence) came to
were by a Letter from the Lord *Digby* to Marquesse *Ormond*
dealt with as Traytors, which *Ormond* endeavoured, and
much debate in the Councell at Dublin, but in conclusion
justified, as those that have done but duty: Upon which the
stant party do again hold up their heads: And twelve hundred
lish and Scots are marched from Ulster to finde out the
carrying with them one whole moneths provision: Obser
this, it will be good, no doubt, and will keep the Irish at

Printed according to Order for L. C.

Numb. 40. 14

The true Informer:

P.P. London K.

Continuing a Collection of the most Speciall and Observable

PASSAGES,

From Yorkshire, Devonshire, Cambridge, Abbington, Oxford, Cornwall, Redding, and other Parts of His MAJESTIES Dominions.

From Saturday July 20. *to Saturday* July 27. 1644.

I. *His Majesties Message directed to the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament at Westminster, concerning a Treaty of Peace, more fully expressed.*

II. *A Letter from the Earl of* Forth *to his Excellency, and his Excellencies Answer thereunto.*

III. *Woodhouse in Wiltshire taken, and 14. Clothiers of good repute and estate taken therein, hanged up by Sir* R. Hoptons *Forces.*

IV. *M.* Constantine *of the H. of Com. committed to the Kings Bench.*

V. *Col.* Ogle *brought to town who was taken in a ship going to Scarborough with 70. barrels of powder, and 20. peeces of Ordnance.*

IT hath been a custome almost amongst all Nations, after any notable victorie, to have their triumphant Songs, wherein the illustrious acts of their owne worthy Leaders, and the shame and confusion of their enemies, were celebrated, preserved, and so delivered over to posteritie. The Romans had their *Salii*, Priests, who after any victorie, went dancing through the City, singing their *Hymnes* and *Paans* to *Mars*, and the rest of the favourable Gods. And the Grecians, sometimes

in Verse, sometimes by Sculpture, used to set forth their famous battells and victories, yet always attributing the highest glory of all to their Gods, whom they supposed to be present with them, Protectors over them, and fighters for them. This cause I think the Devil learn'd from the Lord *Iehovah's* dealing with his owne people, who always directed them thus to celebrate his noble acts, and their great deliverances; Thus (as I told you the last week save one) *Moses* and *Aaron* sang unto the Lord, *Exod.* 15. when he triumphed gloriously over *Pharaoh* and all his Hoste, making them like a stone in the bottome of the Red Sea: Thus the women in their Song and Daunce, 1 *Sam.* 18. celebrated their victory over the Philistims, and thus *Barack* and *Deborah* set forth the great victory which they had gotten, (the Lord marching before them) against King *Iabin* and his generall Sisera, who for twenty yeares had mightily oppressed the Children of Israel: This indeed was the custome of the Church of God in ancient time, and in all times: what then shall we think of that Malignant generation now amongst us, that live (as I may say) like Heathen, nay, rather like graceless Brutes, that take not notice when a deliverance is bestowed upon those who fight for the continuance of the Lawes and Liberties of the Kingdome, to them and their posterity after them? what a sad thing is it, that when so apparent a demonstration of the hand of God, hath lately appeared to the destruction of his enemies in the North, yet that there should be any that calls himself a Protestant or free borne man that should not rejoice in and unto God, for the temporall and spirituall good that is like to insue to him and his thereby. Thus much by way of instruction, I have onely mentioned, (and I hope not unfit to be thus published) that those that have not been thankfull for that late successe over Prince *Rupert*, whether out of ingratitude or obstinacie, would now be humbled for it, and indeavour to walk more worthy of so great a mercy, in keeping peace with the Church of God in all their courses, whether of Humiliation or Thanksgiving, that so when a full mercy shall be brought upon the Kingdome, whether by the unexpected Accomodation, or otherwise, they may find the more comfort in that blessing of peace to themselves.

Devonshire.

I shall begin with the last Intelligence concerning the affaires of the Army of the Lord Generall in the Westerne Parts, which is, that

was

was advertised by severall Letters from thence on Wednesday last, is this: That his Excellencie was removed from *Ockington* to *Lidford*, within seven miles of *Tavestock*, upon the *Borders* of *Cornwall*, neere Pr. *Maurice*, and the Apostate *Greenviles* Forces, and further that he was then upon his march within 17 or 18 miles of *Plymouth*. His Army is about 13000. gallant souldiers, well Armed, besides the *Yellow Regiment* of Auxiliaries, and two other Regiments which were left at Barstable, for the defence of that Towne: for Prince *Maurice* upon his Intelligence of his Excellencies coming forwards, began to remove his Quarters towards *Lowe*, *Foy*, and *Liscard* in *Cornwall*, and it is likely will not stand to a Battell if he can possibly avoid it, till his Majesties Armie drawes neere unto him, who also is upon his march towards *Exeter*. The last certaine newes that we can learne that his Majesties Quarters were kept at, was at *Bruton*, and from thence his intention was speedily to march towards Pr. *Maurice*.

The same day there came Letters from his Excellency, which did give notice of the Kings coming towards him, which he feared but onely he desired, that the Parliament would be carefull to supply him with some things necessary, which they had in a great measure provided for before the Letters came unto them. In the same Letters there were also inclosed a Letter from the *Earle of Forth*, the Kings Generall, lately made *Duke of Brideswell*, directed to his Excellency the *Earle of Essex*, wherein he declared, *That His Majesty had an earnest desire of a Treaty*, as might fuller appeare by the inclosed, which was a Letter (as he said) sent from His Majesty, it was signed *C. R.* and subscribed by the *Lord George Digby His Majesties Secretary*. Intituled,

A gracious Message directed to the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled at Westminster.

The Letter was penned much after the precious form and stile of the former Messages, viz.

That His Majesty could not but with sorrow of heart, and much griefe, behold the devastation & destruction that is now made in this Kingdome, by the shedding of the bloud of so many of his Subjects of all sorts and degrees, and therefore desired for prevention of further calamities incident to an unnaturall civill warre, there might be a speedy accommodation of the differences now on foot between him and the Parliament, and that for that purpose there might be a Treaty of Peace, and parties on both sides nominated to treat, and that there might be a generall Pardon: And other expressions to that effect.

His Excellency returned an answer to the *Earle of Forth*, which he also sent inclosed with that Paper from His Majesty, to this effect:

That whereas he had received notice from the Earl of FORTH of His Majesties intentions concerning peace, he was very glad therof, & desired that God would still continue him in that mind: Concluding thus:

My Lord, I rest, Yours, &c.

ESSEX.

What the Deſigne and effects of this Meſſage may prove, or what it may produce, it is not yet knowne. There are ſome *Arcana Imperii*, which are not, neither are they fit yet to be diſcovered to the world, but if his Majeſties intentions be ſo reall as is profeſſed, for Peace, I could wiſh he would withdraw himſelf from his evill Counſellers, and (as himſelfe once ſaid) relie wholly upon the affections of his Parliament, which would bee the moſt probable meanes to put a ſpeedy period to theſe ruinating diſtractions now amongſt us; and I aſſure my ſelf there is no true Proteſtant, or honeſt and good Patriot, that beares any affection to his native Country, but does daily pray for, and is deſirous of the ſetling of ſuch a ſtime peace, as may ſtand with his Majeſties honour, the eſtabliſhment of the true Proteſtant Religion, the Lawes of the land, and liberty of the Subject.

Cambridge.

The Earle of *Mancheſter* hath (as you heard ſome time ſince) purged the Vniverſity of Cambridge of all the Papiſt and Malignant Fellowes therein, that ſo they might not any longer ſeduce the Students there, amongſt the reſt he hath expelled theſe following, named in this inſuing Warrant.

Whereas by Ordinance of Parliament, intituled, An Ordinance for regulating the Vniverſity of Cambridge, *Power is given to me, to eject ſuch Fellowes of Colledges as are ſcandalous in their lives or Doctrines, or ſuch as have forſaken their ordinary places and reſidement within the ſaid Vniverſity, or that do or have oppoſed the proceedings of Parliament, by virtue of the authority thereby given unto me, I doe* eject Maſter Buxton, Maſter Loveland, Maſter Watſon, &c. *from being Fellowes of* Caius *Colledge within the ſaid Vniverſity of Cambridge, for refuſing to take the ſolemne Leagne and Covenant for Reformation and defence of Religion, the honour and happineſſe of the King, and the peace and ſafety of the three Kingdomes,* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *and for ſeverall other miſdemeanours committed by them, which parties are hereby required not to continue in the ſaid Vniverſity above the ſpace of three daies, upon paine of impriſonment, and ſequeſtration of their goods: And I doe hereby require you to ſequeſter and collect all and ſingular ſuch profits as belong to their ſeverall Fellowſhips, or other places, to be diſpoſed of to ſuch perſons as I*

shall appoint in their roomes. And further to cut their names out of the Butteries, and to certifie me, after the Receipt hereof, what you have done herein.

To the Master and Fellowes of *Caius* Collodge, and every of them.

MANCHESTER.

The last week I told you of the plunderings of the Garison of the Cavaliers in Winchester Castle, which is still continued by them and their Papisticall brethren of Dennington Castle, whereof Lieutenant Colonell *Boys*, (Lieutenant Colonell to that grand Papist B. *Rivers*) is Governour, who, as it was advertised on Friday July 12. sent out a party into the Countrey, who tooke away 84. Oxen, brought them into the Castle, from whence they are since carried into Oxford, and thus the poore Country is daily impoverished, not onely of Money, but also of Provisions, by these ravening Wolves.

Forraigne parts.

Graveling is surrendred to the French, and Offend, and a great part of *Flanders* is indangered by it, to be lost from the Spaniard, so that the King of *Spaine's* superlative Titles are like to be diminished, and his hopes of being universall Monarch, to be frustrate: in the meane time it is thought *France* will not be without some designe touching England, especially her Majesty being come thither, how fortunate had his Majesty of great Brittaine been, had he concurred with his highest and most honourable Court of Parliament, and not been unjustly seduced to these unnaturall civill Warres, he doubtless by this time might have bin able to ballance the greatest power in Christendome, and to have come nothing inferiour to these two great Monarchs.

Woodhouse.

Out of Wiltshire it was certified on Thursday July 27. That Sir *Ralph Hoptons* Forces had taken Woodhouse, a Gentlemans house neere Warmister, which had a long time held out against them. Vpon their taking of it, they first basely and most innumanely abused both men, women, and children therein, and afterwards hanged up foureteene of the most honest and religious men amongst them,

them, most of which were Clothiers, and worth 100000. pound a

Westminster.

On Friday July 26. the House of Commons, upon the information of the severall cruelties and tyrannies of the Cavaliers exercised upon severall of our Forces, without any colour of Law, both at Woodhouse, and the execution of Captaine *Turpin* at Exeter, and others, sent a Message to the House of Lords, desiring them to passe the Ordinance for a Councell of Warre to sit in London, for the Triall of severall persons, whereupon the Ordinance was read in the Lords House, and doubtlesse will soone be passed, so that it is hoped there will be a speedy course taken for the execution of the main Incendiaries of the Common-wealth, when so many innocent persons shall be so bloodily massacred by the enemy.

Yorkeshire.

The last weeke I gave you an account of the surrender of Yorke to the three Generals before it, after which the Councell of War there had a debate whether the Scotish and the Earle of Manchesters Armie should march the Lord *Fairfax* for the reducing of some Garrisons of the enemy in that County being to stay in Yorkeshire, Upon serious debate it was not thought necessarie, nor scarce possible for the Armies to march to Blackstone edge, or Skipton, after Pr. *Rupert*, in regard of the difficulty and danger of the passages, and therefore it was resolved, that they should march to Doncaster, and encamp on this side York, and there refresh themselves, having already the advantage to prevent P. *Rupert* coming South, or thence advance towards Newarke, or any other place as occasion shall require. We further heare also thence, that the Earle of *Calendar* since his coming to Lumley Castle, in the Bishoprick of Durham, hath summoned the town of Newcastle, and that it is in great probability to be attempted, which if successefull will not, I know, be unwelcome newes to the City of London.

Derbishire.

On Thursday last it was certified by Letters out of Derbishire, that Sir *John Gells* Forces, since the taking the passage at Wilne-Ferrie,

ry, besieged Wingfield-Mannour, and have slaine and taken [illegible] 20. of Colonell *Hastings* his men, and 60. Horse that were [illegible] ing abroad.

Abbington.

Sir *William Waller* is yet fortifying Abington, and Major [illegible] rall *Brown* is doing the like service at Redding, both these places [illegible] much streighten the Oxford Cavaliers, and Abington commands [illegible] River of Thames, for the most part between Oxford and Lon[illegible]

The sicknesse does still continue and increase at Oxford, and [illegible] are also many dye daily of it at the Devizes in Wiltshire.

Out of Glocestershire it is advertised, that Colonell *Lohan*, [illegible] vernour of Pembrokeshire, and Captaine *Moulton* with his Sa[illegible] have routed Colonell *Gerard*, a Commander under the Earl of [illegible] *bery*, in his advance towards Pembroke, slew and took 500. of [illegible] men, and divers Armes, besides severall Carriages, and most of [illegible] baggage, and forced him and the rest of the Welch Runts to fly [illegible] to the Mountaines for shelter.

Ireland.

The Irish English Commissioners who were at Oxford, [illegible] sers of the Rebells in their Articles, and (at the Kings flight [illegible] came to London, were by a Letter from the Lord *Digby* to [illegible] quesse *Ormond*, to be dealt with as Traytors, which *Ormond* [illegible] voured, and it caused much debate in the Councell at Dublin, [illegible] conclusion they are justified, as those that have done but duty [illegible] on which the Protestant party do again hold up their heads [illegible] twelve hundred English and Scots are marched from Vlster to [illegible] out the Rebells, carrying with them one whole moneths pro[illegible]

Friday July 26. M. *Constantine*, a Member of the House of [illegible] mods, who formerly deserted the Parliament, and went to the [illegible] was brought to the Barre of that House, and by Order thereof [illegible] mitted to the Kings Bench.

Also Col. *Ogle* taken in a ship going for Scarborough with 7[illegible] rels of powder, divers armes, and 20 peeces of Ordnance from [illegible] land, was the same day brought to towne.

Printed according to Order for *T. Bates*, and *I. W. I.* 164[illegible]

Sir Simon Dewes his 9th speech in the House of Commons upon Saturday July 27 1644. 15.

I shall freely discharge my Conscience in this particular and shew you what I take to be the best and most ready way not only to pay these armies which are now in being but also to abate & lessen our charge for the future: for had wee An Ocean of treasure and our expences did still continue vast and endless, it must needes in the issue be exhausted and drawne drie. And the way I shall propose is no other then what the wisedome of our Ancestors did approove of and found successefull in former ages when their warres were the same with ours for defence of their publiq liberties. Those who have had time to reade the civil broiles which were in the time of H. 2 and what appeares upon record in the greate pipe rolles of H. 2. will easily find that some principall offendors being made examples the rest were only punished with some pecuniary mulct, or fine amounting to a cleare yeares value of their estates or a little more: so as I am confident not one man can shew that 10 families were absolutely ruined in all those warres; but that either themselves were received to mercy, or their heires enioyed and inherited the whole or the greater part of their estates. And for the time of H. 3. that Dictum de Kenelworth is in print to be seene:

And

And it appeares vpon record in the Plea Rolls of Ed. 1. that a greate number of the nobility and gentry of this Realme did make their peace vpon composition according to that act of pacification. Neither hath this only been the custome of our Nation to make their issues of mercies larger then those of Justice, but of other States and Kingdomes also. And thes that haue erred from the right way haue learnt experience at a deare rate. The late Emperour of Germany Ferd. 2 might doubtlesse haue left that greate Empire in a quiet and full possession of his Successors, had he not been misled by the bloudy counsels of the Jesuites who would admit him to Pardon few or none; but prevailed with him to dispose of the Estates and Countries of the German Princes, who were conceived to haue beene offendors. For when he was not only content to punish the Duke of Brunswick who had taken no armes against him but did also divide his Estate amongst his great Comanders it made the Duke of Luneburg being heire to Brunswicke to turne his Armes against the Emperour which before he had vsed for his defence.

And this was the chiefe cause also

that

that other Princes of the Empire invited the King of Sweden into Germany; and if the Emperour had but remembred the Error of Charles the fift his predecessor he would doubtelesse have taken a more safe and better course. For when he contrary to the advice of Castaldo his old Generall, would use the extreamest severity against the Landgraue of Hassia, and some other Princes who had taken vp Armes against him, he was within a few dayes after driven out of the Empire. The like Examples we have in the Dukedome of Florence, for when Alex. de Medicis did persecute with extreme violence and cruelty the Strozzi, Valori, and other noble families, who before had opposed the house of Medicis, his goverment was full of trouble, and vnquietnes, and at last himselfe came to a miserable & violent end: which made Cosma de Medici his Successor being a wise man to punish some principall firebrands onely and to bestow the estates and liveloods of the rest vpon their next heires; by which he setled vpon his Successors one of the most potent and most prime Principalities of Christendome. Neither is my opinion in this.

this perticular singular or affected; for we had trs from Sir Wittm. Waller, some weekes since, intimating that if some power might be given him to receive such into mercy who would come, it might much advantage the cause And there hath beene two severall letters read from the Comittee in the North, in which they desire the two houses to set forth some new declaration for receiving into fauor such as shall now submitt themselues, who could not take benefit of the former declaration because the day therein prefixed was elapsed before it could be published in those partes. And this in Justice we are bound to doe both in the West and North where the Kinges forces were at the time when the first declaration was set forth, or else we must be the cause of mens vnauoidable ruine who were invincibly ignorant of what we did. And can it be pleasing to any man to see the posterity of those greate and ancient families now ruind, who maintaind in former ages the liberties of this nation with the hazard of their owne liues? Can any man now propose to himselfe the getting into greate offices, and raising his fortune vpon other mens ruine, when the Kingdome it selfe lies a bleeding? for if we

proceede

proceed with the Sale of mens estates, we shall but make all men desperate, and strengthen the power of those whom we would weaken. And for mine owne part if I had 10000^{li} to purchase withall as I haue not 10^{li} for that use, I would not buy any delinquents estate before I knew, whether he had an estate for life, in entaile. But if I were an offendor, I would be content to sell the fift part of my estate, to furnish you with the money and preserve the rest of it for my posterity. And doubtlesse we do onely strengthen the contrary partie by leaving the seducers and the Seduced in one and the same hopeless and desperate Condition. I desire therefore that the Consideration of this particular may be speedily referred to the Comittee of both Kingdomes and that we may haue a timely account from them concerning it, and what they haue done upon those letters of Sr Willm Waller, and the Northerne Committee, which were before recomended to their care. There are some persons already appointed to consider of this way of raising money and I haue heard that some 300000^{li} is likely to be advanced thereby; and doubtlesse if a way of mercy be in time thought upon, we shall lessen the number of our enemies and so abate the greatnes of our

charge

charge, and yet further our profit also; and for mine owne part, I would be content, and so I think would euery true patriot to pay out the tenth part of his Estate for twenty yeares to come, rather then to see the ancient families of the Nobility and Gentry wholly ruined. A gentleman also, whom I may, upon this occasion, name Mr Solliciter, did a while since informe the house that you had 6000 prisoners then in Custody, in or about this city and how many hundreds more are since taken I know not. many who I am sure are comitted for rash wordes mistakes, inadvertencies, and the like; and these ought in all conscience to be released upon reasonable ~~paid~~ fines paid; Others also are prisoners of warre: and such euen amongst Turkes and Mahometans haue in all ages beene permitted upon possible and feasible termes to ransome themselves. but aboue all our advantage will be in alluring of these and drawing them to us, who are in Armes against us, with hope of finding some mercy from vs; which if we do not, the Kingdome for ought I see lies yet open to apparent ruine, and do we not find by daily experience, what miserable exigences we are put vnto to get supplys of money, that, euen this morning we

haue

haue read an Ordinance twice to violate
the will of the dead: for whereas Sr James
Cambel late an Alderman of London
hath bequeathed 10000^li to be bestowed on cha-
ritable vses, we are necessitated to borrow
this of the Executors, to pay them againe we
know not when. And what also will be the
issue of our selling mens inheritances, but
driuing them out of the westerne & Southerne
parties, as some are already gone out of the
North and they will disperse themselues into all
parties of Christendome and by mouing pitty
in some, and indignation in others, will procure
perpetual dangers, and troubles to this realme
so as I am confident our grandchildren shall
neuer liue to see it settled againe in full
quiet. And we may do well to remember that
when in the Time of our Edward the Confessor
a weake prince, the Earle Godwin and his
ambitious sonnes had by their cruelty discontented
and irritated diuerse of the English nobility, it
was a maine helpe and furtherance in the
issue to the conquest of this nation by the
Norman W^m. That therefore we may now
auoid the like sad effectes, let us seasonably
extend mercy to such as as iustly capable
of

of it. Not that I should aduise that these men should euer againe be trusted with power, and Authority; but that we should so settle the Kingdome, vpon the conclusion of a iust and happy peace that it should neuer be in their power to do us any mischiefe, or embarke this Kingdome into new troubles, though they should endeauour it. And thus haue I plainely, and faithfully in these sudden and broken notions deliuered my humble aduise and opinion, which I haue done with a cleare conscience submitting the same to the iudgement of this House.

K. pp London

Numb. 4. 16

The Court Mercurie.

Relating for Newes,

The most remarkable PASSAGES of the Kings Armie.

Communicated to both Houses of PARLIAMENT for truth, from divers parts of this Kingdome.

viz.

The 3 Generalls desire in the North for Peace. Prince Rupert *& Preston in Lancashire. Collonel* Cromwell *pursuing him. Foure Judges accused of Treason.* Bristoll *fearefull of a Siedge. The Lord* Hopton, *and Prince* Maurice, *joyne with his Majesty against my Lord Generall. A Mates-man of Warre surprized bringing Armes to the Kings forces.* Woodhouse *plundered by the Cavaliers, and 14 Clothiers cruelly hanged having yeelded themselves upon quarter, manifested in a Speech of Mr.* Strodes *before the Lords* July 26. *A strange Vision at* Oxford. *A new Court-Martiall, for the tryal of Delinquents.*

From *Saturday the 20 of July, to Saturday the 27. 1644.*

Printed according to Order, by THO. FORCET.

From Court, Saturday 20. of July.

Imagination is very powerfull at *Oxford*, They can create Impossibilities and averre them for reallities, and none must dare to appeare so much a lover of Sense and reason as to oppose them by Argument (for they would not have the light scene unlesse in Bonfiles.) They have large fancies that can reach in a minutes time the North part of England and most exquisite contrivements for Battailes before they be such. They doe but put the case and 'tis

done,

done; for say they suppose (and that's enough) such a Party, or such a Party of ours should meet with a farre greater Party of the Rebels (so Dogs barke a farre off but dare not come neare to bite) and put them all to the Sword, or say, *Essex* and *Waller* should be taken (as they dreamed of the three Generals of the Northerne parts) and all their Men generally routed (a thing of nothing to effect) were not our way fairer for *London*, but it will goe foule with them before that day,) and may not such a fortune happen sayes another, true sayes the third, and then an Oath confirmes it shall be so; This by often stating the businesse, and framing it in their minds, the counterfeit Truth seemes absolute and then they noise it one infects another, and they hug their folly because it flatters them. Then on a sudden, Letters of delusion walke to the King in darke Sentences, and *Davies* the Barber (like a notable Shaver, lookes o're his Majesties shoulder and speakes, *Conquests, Conquests an't please your Majesty*, his Majesty troubled with joy casts by the Letter and takes his word. Straight Bonfires like Pyramids neighbour the clouds, (and we are all killed in the twinckling of an Oyster) healths round it to the successe of their next dayes March for *London* (which they account their owne already) when this pretty Dreame and their sancies pleasure is past, the poore easie-hearted soules know not how (with safety) to peece forth their *Hurts* least the Lord Generall, or Sir *William Waller* shrewdly salute them, such precious whimseys as these occasioned this great joy at *Oxford* that is so talked of; for a poore Scholler dreaming of Routs and Victories inferred (as his weake braine informed) one gained in the North from the Earle of *Callendar* by their Grand Plunderer Prince *Rupert*, who was but —— miles from the Earle when this mighty Victory is prated to be gotten, however the poore Scholler had his reward for telling his Dreame the next Morning; And *Nicolls* and *Digby* expounded the *Ænigma* and sent it to his Majesty after they had pleased themselves with mocking of GOD in Thanksgiving and Bonfires performed *July* the Nineteenth.

But they have that prophaning impudence, that when any askes them why they delude themselves, with what is not, they answer, 'tis no matter they are before-hand with God and he owes them a Victory and they expect it a mighty one or God's unjust; whether or no such daring irreligious presumption can scape unpunished, my Modesty leaves to an indifferent judgement.

The

The Lord *Dunsmore*, lately created Earle of *Chichester*, is (as I am certainly informed) miserably opressed with the new disease that raigns much amongst them, to the depriving many of them of the liberty of their sences, had they had any sence before, they would not have complyed, amongst whom this new Earle is numbred, (an newes for him to be a senceles man) it seemes titles, and honours cannot preserve his wise Lordship from casualties, and the force of sickness.

The King has sent for part of his Artillery from *Oxford*, with a convoy, and intends to advance towards *Bridgwater*, he drils as he doth march, what forces and strength he can out of his Garrisons, to further his Designe, which is to give the Lord General Battaile.

They have great hopes at Oxford of another insurrection in *Kent*, (which indeed had like to have bin put in execution by some loose persons, uncapeable of Religion and goodnes) but thanks be to God it was timely prevented, by the pious care of Sir *Anthony Welden*, whose integrity to his Country hath generally appeared.

I know not how to credit this report of the Oxonians (however you shall share in the knowledge) they boast much of the Northern parts of Ireland, that they have great strength there, (but if any Rebels and Butchers of Protestants) that the King hath sent a new Commission to the Governour of *Dublin*, confirming him in that trust, with a Letter of directions to tender the Oath lately taken at *Oxford*, to the Major, and Burgesses of the Towne and City, and such other English and Irish, as were in that Garrison (which Oath was sent with the Letter and Commission) and to use some policy to cut the Scottish forces, and so to keepe it for the King, which as they say was accordingly done, for the Governour dispersed the Scots, sending one party to one place, another party to another place (upon pretence of rising) to quell the Irish, and after the Major and Burgesses had taken the same Oath, they tendered it to a small party of the Scots left in the towne, who refusing to take it, were overpowred, and forced out of the town, which now they keepe for the King. If this be true, it seemes the King is in a sad condition here, and doubtfull of successe, since he is preparing for the lies before the storme, but I believe this newes is rather urged by the ever-lying Youths, to beage us out of a good opinion of that Gentleman, whose falsehood to the State and Parliament, cannot enter into my brest, yet we know the Divels at Oxford are busie to intice all honest hearts from truth, till they are betrayed to their owne ruine, and then they leave them; therefore I say (as a balsome advice to the Governour) may prevent the temptations of the Enemy.

Sir *John Culpepper*, for the good service he hath done the King (as I am informed) is very ill rewarded by those at Oxford, indeed their faction is grown so high, that they who side not with them, are within the compasse of being traytors, and *Cottington* will not suffer them to walke unquestioned, that his eye markes out for such.

The King I am informed by men of quality, appeares much discontented, but the reason (though he ha's many) is not known, unlesse it be at the surrendring of *Yorke*, and *Newcastl's* discerting of the busines, which newes is very fresh in the Kings Army, but not credited by many.

They are in much action at *Bristoll*, about the strong fortifying it, (as though they feared a sudden Siedge) compelling the country men to worke night and day Pyoneere-like, and to bring in all provision with as much speed as possibility required.

The Lord *Hopton* with fifteen hundred men (they say fifteen thousand) and Prince *Maurice* with fower thousand Horse and Foote, agree to joyne with his Majesty, who make towards the Lord Generall.

There was a report made this day in the House concerning the five thousand pounds appointed for to pay the Forces under Sir *William Waller*, and the Assessements of London and Middlesex are to be toward the payment of his Army, which is a Book l. which is speedily to be distributed thereon.

The associated Counties of *Hampshire*, *Berkeshire*, *Buckinghamshire*, and *Oxon*, are appointed to pay the Forces they have already rayfed, now rayfing, or hereafter shall rayfe.

Wee had Letters this day from Collonel *Massey*, expressing the strength of the King in his march from *Shudley* Castle towards the West, consisting but of seaven thousand Horse and Foot, and further relating that he had sent to the Lord Generall, and Sir *William Waller*, giving them true notice of his Majesties strength, and his intention westward, and that he followed him in the Reare with three Troopes of Horse, to preserve the Country from beeing plundered by the rude souldiers, taking some sixty straglingsouldiers, amongst whom were some Commanders, and so awing the rest, that they dorst not unbody themselves, but keep their plodding march, with feare and dulnesse. This Gentleman service hath in much advantagious to the State, and as much looked upon by it to the perpetual honour of his memory unto Posterity.

Wee have intelligence that Generall *Leshley* with his Scottish Forces, are upon advancing towards *Newarke*, which we have sure hopes will

will ere long be reduced to it's due obedience to the Parliament, since the townsmen and many Gentlemen there, ingaged by compulsion in that service, are much disheartned at the surrendring of *Yorke*, and if opportunity did offer it selfe, would willingly imbrace the occasion of their freedome.

This day there went up to the Lords a Message, and the Ordinance made for the setling of a Court Martiall, to try such Delinquents and Malignants as are or shall be brought within the compasse of the same.

Monday the 22. of July.

THis day the Ordinance for the Prerogative Court was recommitted to consider how the proving of Wils may be done without any relation to Episcopall Government, and to take every branch off that may corrupt the tree it selfe.

We have certaine Intelligence that the Queene, *Jermyn* and *Bristoll*, have left *Pendennis* and imbarqued themselves in a Statesman of Warre attended with a small Galley of Oares, and small Barques, some of the Earle of *Warwicks* Ships had a sudden view of them and endeavoured to Arrest them, but being of a larger burthen could not o'retake them.

There passed a Vote this day in the House, that it was conceived unfit for Sir *William Waller* to follow the Kings Army with his Artillery, but rather to joyne with the Forces of the Associated Counties of *Buckingham, &c.*

We have Intelligence aswell by Letters as other wayes, that Sir *William Waller* with his Forces was on Saturday last *July* 20. at *Woodstocke* (I smell the *Oxonians* hither) the Countrey and places thereabouts comming in freely to him with Provision.

We are informed for certaine, that Prince *Rupert* is now at *Preston* in Lancashire, and has much recruted himselfe with Men but wants Armes and Ammunition abundantly, and it is conceived he daily expects supplies from *Ireland*, but I hope Collonel *Cromwell* (who is very neere him with an ample power) will Order my Gentleman in the meane time and prevent his hopes that way.

The House having beene informed, that Sir *John Barkley* had caused one Captaine *Turpin* to be hanged at *Exeter*, in revenge of Kumagado *Howards* death at *Barstable*, and that the foure Judges of the Western Circuits, had passed the Sentence of Death upon him as guilty of high Treason for obeying the Commands of the Parliament. This day the Commons of Parliament in the name of themselves and all the Commons of *England* did at the Barre in the Lords House accuse the said foure Judges *Heath*, *Foster*, *Banks*, and *Glanvile*, of high Treason.

 Wee

Wee heare the Prince is gone into *Pembroke*-shire with some strength hoping to attract the affection of that Countrey to assist him in actuall Warre against the Parliament, but the Lord Generall hee has sent some forces to the Castle and those parts to raise strength to oppose the Princes Intentions.

Tuesday the 23 of July.

WEe received Letters this day out of *Derby*-shire which informs us that the ever active Lord *Gray* has in skirmish worsted a party of the Kings and taken of them five Captains and other Officers with about three or foureſcore Common Souldiers and very able Horſe, and many Armes.

Wee have intelligence that *Gravelin* is delivered up to the French, upon certain honourable conditions, after many assaults, and breaches made through their workes, there marched forth the towne 1000. armed men, one hundred and fifty Horſemen, one great Granado, and some small field Pieces, order was given that such as pleased might depart the town, and such as was lame souldiers, (being 200 in number) should not be forced thence, and others that would stay might, the value of the ſpoyle is difficult to relate, therefore I shall be silent, least I should abuſe you with untruths.

Wednesday the 24 of July.

IT was this day Ordered, the Commitee should sit every *Tuesday* and *Thursday* by eight of the clock in the Morning to consider of the rules presented by the Assembly of Divines concerning Ordination.

A Message from the Lords to the House of Commons desiring the Concurrence in preferring Master *Peter Clarke*, an honest devout Minister of the Word, and of the Assembly of Divines, to the place of serving the cure in the Chappell of *Savoy-Hospitall*, which was by the Commons assented unto and Ordered accordingly, Master *Foxley* being otherwise well provided for.

The Earle of *Denbigh* this day sate in the House and heard the managing of the 10 Article by M. *Nicolls* against the B. of *Canterbury* who to every objection (though confirmed under his owne hand the introduction of Popery) he impudently answered Negatively though so many powerfull witnesses cannot be blowne of such such ease as he imagines. The fourteenth Article onely remaines to be insisted upon.

It was this day Ordered by the Commons in Parliament, that the two ships called the *Mary*, and the *Dorothy* of *London*, bound from *Amsterdam* for *London*, and taken by a *Dunkirke* Priggot at Sea, which

after

after twelve houres possession was chased by the good ship called the *Paramour* now in service for States of *England* and regained; he restored to the owners with their Goods, Tacklings &c. So that the owners thereof ever give such satisfaction to the Captaine and others of the *Paramour* by way of salvage as shall be thought fit by the Committee for the Navy.

This day Letters came from the three Generalls, expressing not only their due thankes to God for their successe in the Northerne parts but declaring their desire, if the Parliament should thinke fit to settle Peace with truth and offer his Majesty Propositions accordingly, so that they may not appeare below their Condition, nor disagreeable to Gods true Religion established, and to be established by the Reverend Synod of Divines.

The Petition of the Company of Marchant Adventurers concerning the *Danish* Ship at *Portsmouth*, and the Petition of the Governour, Assistants, and Fellowship of *Eastland* Merchants, was read and referred to the consideration of the committee of the Navy, to heare both companies with their Allegations and to report the whole businesse to the House, and in the meane time to Order that the said ship be kept in safe custody; and likewise care taken that none of the goods in the said ship be Embezelled.

Absolute power is given by the House to a Committee to consider and examine the value of Delinquents Lands Goods and Houses, which are and must be saleable (in reason) for the service of the State.

Wee received Letters this day from *Hamborrough*, that the Marquis of *Newcastle*, the Earle of *Cranworth*, Generall *King*, the Bishop of *London-Derry*, the Marquis of *Newcastles* two sonnes, Collonel *Bassat*, Brother to the Marquesse, Lord *Witherington*, Lord *Fawkenbridge*, Sir *Edward Witherington*, Collonel *Carnaby*, Collonel *Mocon*, Sir *Francis Markworth*, Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, Sir *Charles Candish*, and many other Knights and Gentlemen to the number of 80 are Landed there.

This by the way, I shall desire your excuse for the mistake in my last weeks intelligence that the Marquesse of *Newcastle* was discovered at Sea by some ships of the Lord Admiralls, which indeed as I have better edged my Judgement since, was the *Danish* ship which being suddenly surprized and the newes fresh, here I could not doe otherwise then according to the Intelligence I received, impart it to you.

For the *Danish* ship she is not taken as prize, but onely an arrest upon her untill the King of *Denmarke*, release the Goods of the Subjects of *England* he hath seized on at the Sound.

Thursday

Thursday the 25. of July.

This day the House sate not in its absolute body, but was resolved into a grand Committee (according to a former Order) whereby to consider of the rules to be framed by the Synod of Divines, concerning the rules of Ordination.

I had this day information from *Oxford*, that the Souldiery there in Garrison kept themselves in a posture of defence, and scarce rested one night in a week, in their feare of our forces, sally out they dare not, and on Tuesday night last the towne seemed as on fire, to the amazement of many, upon which errour the souldiery fell into a strange combustion, each thinking his Comrade an Enemy, and the Councell of Warre tooke speedy care to prevent it many had yeelded up their lives, what light it was not any can guesse, but I hope an omen to their deserved illuminating our judgements to the place of darkenes.

Wee have again intelligence from *Ireland* that the King has a great party and many English have taken the Oxford Covenant, which hath occasioned division amongst the Protestants, some standing to maintaine the King and Episcopall government, others for the King and Parliament against the Episcopall government what will ensue upon this cannot yet be judged, but I have some cause to suspect this newes, that the former which I have told you concerning the Covenant have some reason of truth.

Friday the 26. of July.

His Majesty wee heare is gone toward Cornwall, and Sir *Richard Grenvile* to meet him with his forces, (which I believe are not considerable) the Prince with his forces to the number of 4000. Horse and Foot, walke along with the King's army, but *Hopton* hath left the King a while hoping to fetch recruits from Cornwall and those parts, his Majesties small Garrison townes are left naked and almost inconsiderable, and that he intended to pitch battaile.

The humble Peotion of Major *Thomas Dicks*, in the custody of the Serjeant at Armes, was this day read, and an Order thereupon was granted by the House of Commons for his discharge.

Nothing but actions of cruelty guide the Enemies Army, and such cruelty that Religion, nor the law of Armes admit, at Woodhouse, a place adhering to the Parliament and their pyous proceedings, a party of the Kings forces entered, in which place they killed many, now what can they deserve quarter, and of these were fourteen Clothiers to whom they promised quarter, but having secured them, they hanged them in the same place.

This Newes came fresh this Morning to the House, upon which a Message was sent up to the Lords by Mr. *Strode* desiring their Concurrence to use the like (for they have made a Precedent) Cruelty on such known Malignants as they shall take, that they shall hang every Prisoner in the Gaole of Dorchester, and for this purpose to give Keepers of every Prison, for this friendly Caution, and to leave that accustomed tricke of Palme-scratching, and to set Keepers to hang you and free others. I say no more.

Mr. *Coo[illegible]* formerly a Member of the House, who [illegible] brought to the House, he was taken by the Garrison of [illegible] and by Order of the House of Commons was committed to the Prison of the Comon [illegible]

A States man of Warre was taken, the last week, for some of the Earle of Warwicks Ships at Sea comming for *Scarborough* with Ammunition, for the Castle there three Yorke Marchants were taken in it, namely Mr. *Clarke*, Mr. *Fenwick*, Mr. *Mackling*, and Collonel *Ogle*.

This is Licensed according to Order.

A DOG'S ELEGY, OR RVPERT'S TEARS.

For the late Defeat given him at *Marston-moore*, neer *York*, by the Three Renowned Generalls; *Alexander Earl of* Leven, *Generall of the Scottish Forces*, Fardinando *Lord* Fairefax, *and the Earle of* Manchester *Generalls of the* English *Forces in the North.*

Where his beloved Dog, named BOY, was killed by a Valliant Souldier, who had skill in *Necromancy.*

Likewise the strange breed of this Shagg'd Cavalier, *whelp'd of a Maligna*nt Water-witch; *With all his Tricks, and Feats.*

All Cavaliers, *Rupert* invites you all
That doe survive, to his Dogs Funerall.

Close-mourners are the Witch, Pope, & devill,
That much lament your late befallen evill.

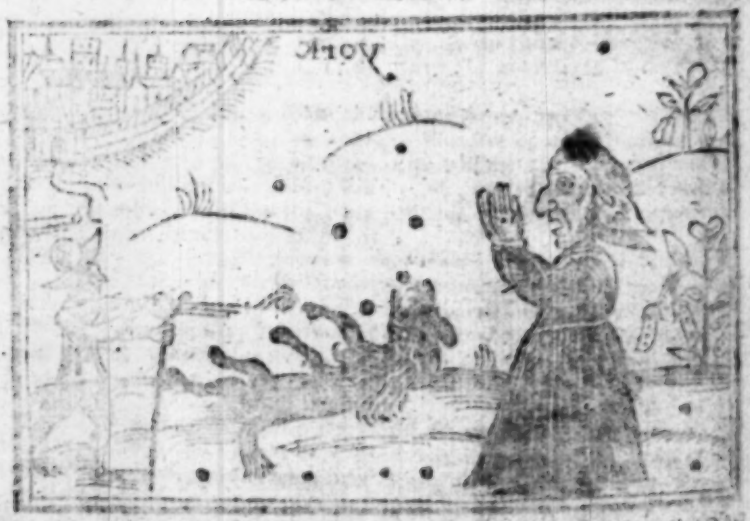
Printed at *London*, for *G. B.* July 27. 1644.

A

DOG'S ELEGY,

OR

RUPERT'S TEARS.



A Dogg's Elegie,

OR

RUPERT'S Tears.

LAment poor *Cavaliers*, cry, howl and yelp
For the great losse of your *Maliguant Whelp*,
Hee's dead! Hee's dead! No more alas can he
Protect you *Dammes*, or get Victorie.
How sad that *Son* of *Blood* did look to hear
One tell the death of this shagg'd *Cavalier*,
Hee rav'd, he tore his Perriwigg, and swore,
Against the Round-heads that hee'd ne're fight more:
Close couch'd, as in a field of *Beanes* he lay,
Cursing and banning all that live-long day;
Thousands of Devills Ramme me into Hell,
Or may I live and die an Infidell,
The Day's quite lost, wee are all confounded,
And made a prey to ev'ry paltry *Roundhead*;
Just Heav'n had so Decreed, as it fell out,
The *Cavaliers* receiv'd a finall Rout:
Manchester, *Leslie*, *Fairfax* weares the *Bay*,
And *Crumwell* crown'd chief Victor of the Day;
VVhile thousands reeching in their blood, did lie
VVeary of life, and yet afraid to die.
But for to tell of this Bi-ck *Water-Witch*,
That puppy'd was of a Maliguant *Bitch*,
Or *Hagge*, so cunning in her Art, thus shee,
VValk'd under earth, as in the air or thistle,
Sell windes she could, command the Ebb or Tide,
Raise Foggs, give Spells, or on the Clowds could ride,
For Magick, Sorcerie, Charme or Evill,
She well might be Schoolmistrow to th' Devill.

P. *Rupert*, sorrow.

His policie.

His Army Routed.

His *Dogs* Progeny.

The property of *Witches*.

This

This Witch one night, late, picking banefull Drugs,
Her Spirit. Meeting grim *Bremo*, us'd to suck her doggs,
In shape of a young stripling *Dammy Blade*,
For Whoredome, Murder, and for Rapine made,
For all the world, some say, just such another
That used to call Prince *Maurice* brother:
Thus shee Accosted him, What Forme is this
Thou hast assum'd *Bremo*? By the *Abysse*,
My blood rebells more powerfull then my *Charmes*,
Till I doe lodge thee in my twined armes.
The dog begotten. No sooner had shee spake, but a black clowde
With duskie curtains did them both enshrowde,
Where was begotten this Malignant Curr,
Who in this *Iland* hath made all this stirre.
Full thrice three yeears within her cursed wombe,
He did remaine, ere he to light did come:
The long'd for houre is come, most strange to tell,
The *Furies* straight about their businesse fell;
Megera midwife was to this strange Fiend,
For whose delivery all the *Hagges* attend:
Thunder and Earth quakes such a noise did make,
As if Heavens *Axletree* in sunder brake,
And either *Poles*, their heads together pash'd,
As all againe they had to *Chaos* dash'd:
Then was a noise, as if the Garden Beares,
And all the Doggs together by the Eares,
And those in *Bedlam* had inlarged been,
And to behold the bayting had come in.
Signs of prodigious birth. About by noon flew the affrighted *Owle*,
And *Dogs* in corners set them down to bowle,
Bitches and *Wolves* these fatall signes among,
Brought forth most monstrous, and prodigious young:
And from his height, the earth-refreshing Sun,
Before his houre his golden beams doth run
Farre under us, in doubt his glorious Eye
Should be polluted with this Progody.
A trembling fear straight on the people grew,
But for what cause there was not one that knew,
Th' *Destinies*, *Furyes*, *Fates*, and all hells Crew
Came trembling in, and would this Monster view,

And

And long it was not ere there came to light.
The moſt abhorred, and moſt fearfull ſight
That ever eye beheld, a birth ſo ſtrange,
That at the view it made their looks to change:
VVomen ſtand off (quoth one) and come not neer it, The dogges birth.
The Devill, if he ſaw it, ſure would fear it,
For by it's ſhape, for ought that I can gather,
The Childe is able to affright the Father:
'Twas like a *Dog*, yet there was none did know
VVhether it Devill was, or Dog, or no.

Scarce twice two yeers paſt o're, but quickly hee His cunning.
Excell'd his Mother in her VVitcherie,
And in his black and gloomy Arts ſo skill'd,
That he even Hell in his ſubjection held;
Hee could command the Spirits up from below,
And binde them ſtrongly, till they let him know
All the dread ſecrets that belong them to,
And what thoſe did, with whom they had to doe.

This VVizard in his knowledge moſt profound, His depth of skill.
Sate on a day the depths of things to ſound,
For that the VVorld was brought to ſuch a paſſe,
That it well nere in a confuſion was,
For things ſet right, ran quickly out of frame,
And thoſe awrie, to rare perfection came,
And matters in ſuch ſort about were brought,
That *States* were puzzl'd almoſt beyond thought;
VVhich made him thinke as he might very well,
There were more Devills then he knew in hell.

Now for to Act his part he doth beginne,
And temps's the VVorld to all abhorred ſinne:

To *Rome* he firſt reſolves his courſe to ſteere, His firſt sticke.
And quickly leaps into the Prelates Chaire,
Juſt 'bout the time ſome think when as Pope *Joan*
VVas head o'the Church, and troubled with the ſtone,
He cur'd her *Holineſſe*, brought her abed,
And ſhew'd the *Romiſh Church* her Maiden head:

But finding *Rome* already prone to Vice,
To *Pride*, *Vain-glory*, *Luſt* and *Avarice*,
To *Murder*, *Rape*, *Idolatry* and more
Then he (though Devill) ever knew before,

For

For *Spaine* hee comes, just about Eighty Eight,
And there a Fleet he Rigg'd for *England* streight,
There did hee play his Water-prize with *Drake*,
Who with Earth's thunder, made proud *Neptune* quake;
He taught this *Dog* to Duck, to swim, and dive,
Till scarce a *Spaniard* he had left alive;
But being vex'd, missing his aime at Sea,
He vow'd on Land revenged he would be,

The great Armado.

But Heav'n which ever did Protect that *Queen*,
Debarr'd his malice, and repell'd his spleene;
Till *Jove* fetching her hence, gave her a Crowne,
More bright, more glorious, and of more renowne,
Who Reignes till *Time* hath date, or *Fame* hath breath,
Queen of true *English* hearts in life and death.

Queen Elizabeth many times miraculously delivered.

Aurora's gone: Bright *Sol* is in his Throne,
Then dry your eyes, and cease for her to mourne:
This *Dogge* now casts about, tries all his skill,
To poyson, stab, or some new way to kill
Never yet heard of; The *Master-piece* of hell
Is now contriv'd that wants a Paralell,
The *Powder-Plot*, that would in one half houre,
King, Prince, Peers, Commons, at one blow devower,
But then he failed too, the Eye of Heav'n
Descri'd the Plot, and Justice with an even
Impartiall hand, by the Decree of *Jove*,
Set free our Kingdom, and did them remove,
Gave them their just reward, sent them to Hell,
'Mongst better Devills then themselves and well.

The Popish Powder-plot.

Our *Dog* is masterlesse; Could he but frame
Himself to serve the Fav'rite *Buckingham*,
This cunning, slie, insinuating Elfe,
By him would work strange wonders for himself,
Then doth the Plot, contrive, and cast about;
And Hell himself doth search, for to finde out,
If any way were left, he vow'd to spie
Once more to bring this land to Poperie.

The Dog turns Courtier.

Now dies that Noble *Scot*, whose [illegible]
'Twas thy Ambition made his [illegible]
Next, Prince *Henry* [illegible]
A damp glids through my [illegible]

Duke of Lenox.

Prince Henry.

I know not, unleſſe ſome powerfull Spell
Hath charm'd my head into a watery VVell:
" *Eyes weep out teares, teares weep out eyes in kindneſſe,*
" *Since he is dead, both beſt of all is blindneſſe.*
A Match with *Spaine* muſt now be practiſed,
VVhich ſoon will ſtrike the nayle up to the head:
Oh, now it works, which makes his *Holineſſe*, The Popes letter.
Salute his hopefull *Sonne* with an *Expreſſe*,
Anſwer'd with ſo much *Candor* to the *Chaire*,
As if Himſelf of it did ſtand in feare.
The Match brook off with *Spaine*, our Noble *BOY*
Is yet to ſeek, and muſt finde out a way
By Poyſon ſtill, how that (O monſtrous!) Hee
More home may ſtrike at Sacred *Majeſtie*,
Great Brittains KING, and *Europs* chiefeſt glory, K. *James* his death.
Scarce parallel'd in any *Engliſh* Story,
Muſt with *White Powder* given him in his drinke,
Cry out on him that made his Carcaſſe ſinke.
O for a Biſhop now, Come Little *Laud*, *Canterbury* uſhers in popery.
And uſher in the *Babyloniſh Baud*,
This made him *Metropolitan*, when hee
Did move the *Duke* to goe toth' Ile of *Ree*, The Ile of *Rue* voyage.
Poore *Rochell Ru'd* it, where by more then Chance,
England was made the ſcorne of conquer'd *France*:
But heaven by *Felton's* hand had ſo decreed,
He that ſhed all this blood, himſelf ſhould bleed.
Now *Biſhops*, *Coaps*, *Caps*, *Surplices* and *Croſſes*,
Muſt needs *Religion-o're* theſe factall *Loſſes*:
GODS Day muſt be Profan'd with *Sports* profane, The *Declaration* for Sports on the Sabbath-day.
Laud, *White*, and *Wren*, like Tyrant-Kings muſt Reign:
Monopolies impos'd, and none goe free,
But thoſe that lou'd the *Maſſe*, and *Popery*. *Mr. Burton*, *Mr. Prynne*, and *Dr. Baſtwick*.
Now *Tips* of *Ears*, and burning fiery ſcarres,
VVere all ſad Symptoms of inſuing VVarres!
The *Maſſe-Book* unto *Scotland* now muſt trace, *Scotlands* piety.
Or elſe a *Bloody Sword* ſupplies the place.
Now doth that ſur-Reverend Piece of *Luſt*, Queen-mother.
That *Madam Pole cat*, that was never juſt,
Contrive and Plot, and wrack her whoary ſcull,
Urging her Daughter to make miſchief full.

Now

Now *Strafford's* on the dismall Stage: 'tis he
Must Act chief part in this red Tragedie:
Now *Harry Jermin, Bristoll, Digby, Cott.*—
Must all to work, and see what they can Plot:
Now *Bleeding Ireland* hath by Commission,
Brought th' Protestants to a sad condition:
Two hundred thousand of them lately slaine,
The *Protestant Religion* to maintaine.
'Tis time the King now leave his Parliament,
Let *Digby* weare his Crown, and give consent
To raise an Army Traytors to protect,
And his *Great Counsell* utterly reject.
Now Prince of *Robbers*, Duke of *Plunderland*,
This Dogs great Master, hath receiv'd command
To kill, burne, steale, Ravish, nay, any thing,
And in the end to make himself a King.
Newcastle next, *Capell* the *Cow-stealer*,
And *Hastings* alias *Rob-Carrier*,
Hopton, Hurry, Lunsford, that all doe Fight
For the true *Gospel*, and the *Subjects Right*.
On *Ashton, Legge*, and such as these doe stand
The Priviledge of Parliament and Land!
And the *Known Laws*, that should good men protect,
Upheld by Rebells, that good men reiect,
O *durum hoc*!—Mine eyes burst out to thinke
How blinde he is, that can at these things winke.

To tell you all the pranks this *Dogge* hath wrought,
That lov'd his Master, and him Bullets brought,
VVould but make laughter, in these times of woe,
Or how this Curr came by his fatall blow,
Look on the Title page, and there behold,
The Emblem will all this to you unfold.

MORRALL.

The VVorld's *the* VVitch, *the* Dogge, *is the* Devill,
And men *th' Actors, that have wrought this evill.*

EPILOGUE.

He that can't get a peny more to buy,
May want a Pound, and a Malignant *die.*

FINIS.

Traytors, and papists, Whelps of the same litter.

The Dogs Master.

These and Irish Rebells, his Maiesties best Subjects.

18.

AN ANSWER TO W. R. HIS NARRATION

of the Opinions and Practiſes of the Churches lately erected in

Nevv-England.

Vindicating thoſe Godly and Orthodoxall Churches, from more then an hundred imputations fathered on them and their Church way, by the ſaid *W. R.* in his Booke.

Wherein is plainely proved,

1. *That the grounds of his Narration are* ſandie *and* inſufficient.
2. *That the maner of his handling it,* unloving *and* irregular.
3. *That the matter of it, ful of* groſſe miſtakes *&* *divers* contradictions.
4. *That the quotations extremely* wreſted, *and out of meaſure* abuſed.
5. *That his Marginall notes* impertinent *and* injurious.

By THOMAS WELDE, Paſtour of the Church of *Roxborough* in NEVV-ENGLAND.

Jude 10. *They ſpeake evill of things they know not.*
Prov. 18.17. *He that is firſt in his owne caſe ſeemeth juſt, but his neighbour commeth after and ſearcheth him.*

This is Licenſed and Entered according to Order.

July 27 th. LONDON,
Printed by *Tho: Paine* for *H. Overton*, and are to be ſold at his ſhop entring into *Popes-Head Alley* out of *Lumbard-Streete*. 1644.

AN ANSWER
TO
HIS NARRATION

of the Opinions and Practises of the Churches lately erected in

Nevv-England,

Vindicating those Godly and Orthodoxall Churches, from more then an hundred imputations attacked on them and their Church way, by the said Mr. R. in his Booke.

[illegible]

1. [illegible] Vocation [illegible] and insufficient.
2. [illegible] is unlawing and irregular.
3. [illegible] of [illegible] mistakes & [illegible] contradictions.
4. [illegible] wrested, and [illegible] abused.
5. [illegible] impertinent and injurious.

By THOMAS WELDE, Pastour of the Church of Roxburgh in NEVV-ENGLAND.

Jude 10. They [illegible] of things they know not.
Prov. 18. 17. [illegible] in his own [illegible] seem, [illegible] but his neighbour comes [illegible] him.

Must Licensed and Entered according to Order.

Printed by [illegible] LONDON,
Printed by Thos. Paine for H. Overton, and are to be sold at his shop, [illegible] Pope-Head Alley out of Lombard-Street. 1644.

THE EPISTLE TO THE REDAER.

THere was a law in Israell, that if any man did bring an ill name upon a Virgin of Israell, the matter was to come before the Elders, and hee was to bee chastised, and amerced an hundred shekells of silver. Deut. 22.18,19

There is one, W.R. (if thou knowest the man) that hath brought many ill reports, not upon one Virgin, but all the Virgin-Churches of New-England: When thou seest him do so much as bring him forth to Answer this law, Tell him, wee purpose to try an Action with him, and have satisfaction from him. And if hee saith, hee hath not raised these reports himselfe, but had them from others: Then tell him again from us, that cannot satisfie, for we have learned from divine and humane lawes, that if any bee taken reporting of slaunders (as wee shall abundantly shew hee hath done in his Narrative) he may be chareed as the raiser of

till

till hee can cleare himselfe by bringing such Authors into light as will owne them. But if he will not, or cannot; wee must lay them at his owne doore. Its for all the severall reports in his booke brought against us and our wayes, we expect the rule of Moses and the Apostle Paul, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses and not under every matter should be established to produce Barrow, Browne, Robinson, &c. for Authors; (for they were dead before New-England Churches were borne,) or H. W. T. P. and I know not what private letters lying by him in his study (for wee know not their voyce,) nor let him say, it was told me, (as he often doth) for wee protest against such testimony, nor I was informed so, &c. for fama est mendax and prejudice hardly speakes well of any. Tell him wee will goe to aged Paul (hee was a good Divine) to bee our Vmpire to determine what witnesse we must have in a case of accusation, and to his verdict wee will stand, which is set downe plainely 1 Tim. 5. 19.

Dut. 17. 6. 2 Cor. 13. 1. 2 Tim. 5, 19.

Three things more let me say to the reader, and I have done.

1. Wonder not, this Answer staid so long, for it had certainly taken his narrative by the heele, but that some speciall providence (whose distracted lines) intercepted; the truth is, I thought it should neede no other Answer then it selfe; untill I perceived some ill effects of it.

2. But why doe I undertake this worke? Answer,

1. *I am one of the* neareſt kinſmen *to thoſe Churches of any other man in theſe parts, and therefore I take my ſelfe bound to* the name of my Brethren *(in a righteous way) and (not let it die) through my neglect.* 2. *Few or none are here, have had more experience of* New-England *Church courſes then my ſelfe, through many yeares continuance with them, and to whom I am returning when God makes way: and am therefore able to ſpeake on certainty, and with conſcience where* W. R. *departs from the truth in his relations.* 3. *I have beene preſſed by word of mouth, and ſundry letters to doe it; therefore if I ſhould hold my peace when I am called to ſpeake, and ſee ſo many innocent Churches ſuffer, I ſhould not lift up my face to God, nor my Brethren there.* God knowes *my ſpirit, how exceeding loath I was to controvert with a Brother, (though but a defendant) and to uncover his nakedneſſe, but when God calls I am bound with* Moſes, *(when he ſaw the Ebrew did wrong to his Brother) to ſay,* why ſmiteſt thou thy fellow? Exod. 2. 13.

3. *Touching the anſwer it ſelfe, ſome things I would ſay.* 1 *I thinke it not meete to anſwer all I could, nor to every particular, eſpecially in his Marginall extravagances, that would be too tedious; For our principall paſſages being anſwered unto, the reſt will fall of themſelves.* 2. *Nor to anſwer any thing in his booke, ſo oft as hee repeates it, for divers things are fetched over by him, ſome three, ſome foure ſeverall times; what his reaſons are, himſelfe can beſt give*

account.

account. 3. Neither is it possible for me to answer the sayings of his private letters lying by him, (such a ground of Church stories as I never heard of,) because I know neither who they are, nor what their owne words are, or if I did, were it materiall. 4. Thou seest I have a three fold worke to answer: 1. his Articles, 2 his quotations, 3 his Margent. All which I have indeavored faithfully as in Gods presence to doe: what oversight or infirmity hath passed my penne therein, I crave thy pardon, for we are weake men and (God knowes) too apt to forget our selves in greater things then these. 5. What I here write, is onely from my selfe, (if any weakenesse appeare) impute it not I pray thee to the case in hand, or our Churches iudgements there, but to my owne frailty rather. 6. Nor is it my scope to discusse the points of Discipline, (that worke is in abler hands) but I looke upon his booke, as an historicall narration, and accordingly I frame my answer. 7. Though he brings not the words of any of his Authors cited (which had been fairer, and might have kept him in closer bonds) yet I have done it for him, especially in the last sixe or eighe Chapters, that you may iudge whether hee hath dealt fairely with them or no. 8. When I recite W. R. his words in his narration, you will see I have dealt candidly with him, either mentioning his very words, or so many of them as containe their full strength, whereto my answer tends. 9. When at any time, in my answer, I say, such an Article, or such a clause is untrue,

or

or is false; I am not willing to impute the falsity thereof to the Authors knowledge, (I would iudge otherwise of him then so,) but to the thing it selfe asserted; which may be done through his misinformation, or mistake: I will say no more; but commit thy spirit to the wise guidance of the Father of lights, who in Christ Jesus leade thee by the hand into all truth and peace.

Thine *T. W.*

The Reader may take a short view of some Particulars in W. R. *his Narration; As they are made to appeare in his Booke by the Page, and Line, as followeth.*

Vnsound passages.		Vntrue Relations.		Falsified quotations.	
Page.	*Line.*	*Page.*	*Line.*	*Page.*	*Line.*
4	25	1	15	17	6
5	20	2	21	18	20
6	7.24.37	5	20	19	14.24
7	5.15	6	23	20	24
8	28	20	3.32. vlt.	24	35
9	whole page	25	2 last	25	18.23
18	26	39	10	25	23.31.40
24	39	37	whole pag.	26	5
29	17.28	38		32	3 last
36	28	51	whole pag.	57	16
40	15	56	9	58	1.2.27
52	1.9.26	57	5.10. vlt.	59	22
53	2.11.22	59	6.33	60	23, &c.
54	3.10	60	11	61	38
58	33	62	11.25. ad fin.	62	11.25. ad fin.
61	21.26	66	4 last	63	1.9
64	1,9.25	67	6.12.22	64	14
71	13 ad finem.	68	4.7.12	67	25.18

There

There are some things in *W. R.* his Narration that carry a face of contradiction: I propound them to his review: in his owne words, sense, and pages.

Thus they stand.

He saith, concerning the judgements & practises of the Churches generally in *New-England*

That
- Sacraments are to be Administred to the Members of the same Church only. Narration p. 35. Art. 5. & vide p. 38. Art. 4.
- The Churches do, and may, mutually, partake each with other in the Sacraments. p. 37. Art. 31. p. 10. Art. 7

That
- They conceive some to bee true Christians, whether they be in Church estate or no. p. 33. Art. 1.
- Whosoever becomes not a setled member of a Church, they account him wicked, prophane, and a graceless person. p. 29. Art. 1. p. 12. Art. 12.

That
- They may, and doe constitute new Churches without the consent of the Christian State. p. 20. last line, p 49. Art. 2. & latter end of the Marg.
- Before they doe enter into Church estate, notice is first given thereof to the Magistrate or the Christian State. p. 21. Art. 4. And (by a law of the Seate) none can enter without such knowledge given to the Magistrate. p. 21. Art. 1.

That
- They may, and doe set up new Churches in the midst of, and against the mind of the Churches. p. 49. Art. 2. and latter end of Margent.
- Notice is given thereof to the neighbouring Churches, that such as please may be present. p. 21. Art. 4.

That
- The Church-Covenant is that, whereby all the Members of the Society are united to Christ. p. 12. Art. 1.
- Many are within the Church-covenant, that are not within the Covenant of Grace, *and so not united to Christ*. p. 14. Art. 3.

That
- The Churches of *New-England* are of one and the same way in Discipline without any materiall difference. p. 1. Art. 1.
- *They are not of the same way, but sometimes of 2. contrary waies, sometimes of 3. severall waies at once, and that in very materiall points.* p. 10. Art. 8. p. 16. Art. 9. p. 23. Art. 3. and 4. p. 27. Art. 11.

1 *Objection.* But *we in* New-England *goe different waies, so the contradictions come from our selves, not from him.* *Answ.* No, for *We are all of the same way, and differ not in any materiall point*, as himselfe plainely saith. chap. 1. Art. 1. 2 His Narration speakes what the Churches in *New-England* doe *generally*, as Title. p. 1. Now it is impossible that they can *generally* goe two wayes at once.

2 *Objection.* But our writers say so, and hee speakes according to them. *Answ.* Then let him make this appeare (and that will bee hard to doe) for his quoted Authors speake the selfe same thing.

An

An Answer to VV. R. *his Narration of the Opinions and Practises of the Churches lately erected in* New England.

An Answer to the PREFACE.

IT would grieve a tender heart to heare this man *call God and his Conscience to witnesse how highly he honours and loves those that are in Church waies*, and by and by to assault with horrible untruths, and bitter invectives the Churches of *New-England*, (whom God hath beene pleased to honour in the hearts of thousands of his precious Saints) which one would thinke hardly credible, that any that goeth under the notion of honesty, much lesse of godlinesse, should venture to doe.

He blames *the Brethren of the Independent way*, (as he stiles them) *that were and are in London, for breaking a solemne agreement; to produce a narrative of their Doctrine and practise, and yet did not, yea would not performe it.* L.

1. Some of us professe solemnely we never so much as heard of any promise, therefore were farre enough from breaking it; why then doth *W. R.* lay it upon the Independent Brethren in *London* without exception? *Answ.*

2. What was done by any of them herein, was freely from themselves (as I am informed by them) that by some manifestation of their Judgements and practises, they might cleare themselves from misapprehensions and mistakes; so that if they did it not, themselves were like to suffer most.

3. This they made performance of in their late Apologie, so farre as might satisfie in a rationall way, but if hee expected more, where lies the fault?

4. If they did not this, so soone as hee would have had them, let him know, the extreame distractions of these times, and the publique service of some of these brethren (who were imployed by the State, for a good space together) might justly hinder greater things then this. Now, see what little cause the Narrator had to cast such a blot on the names of his *Honored Brethren* (as he calles them.)

II. Hee saith. *Many were drawne aside, their Churches and Ministry slighted, neglected, deserted, — yea contumeliously and scornefully reproached as Antichristian, Babylonish, false and Null, &c.*

Answ. 1. Such contemptuous speeches, & reproachfull carriages cast upon our Brethren of the Churches here, neither are, or ever were allowed by us: yea our owne examples, practisings, writings doe, and (we hope) ever shall beare witnesse against such loose and lavish spirits and practises: And can any man then justly impute them unto us? May we not say with the Psalmist, *If the foundations be cast downe, what hath the innocent done?* Psal. 11. 3.

2. They are not alone in these reproches our selves also are fellow-sufferers with them herein, from divers Sectaries now in *London*, whose usuall tones & dialects these words (he mentions) are, & not the voyce of Independents.

III. *That some of our way (contrary to our promise and Pactions) have impetuously, both in Pulpit and Presse laboured to promote the popular government, & to make all men distrust and abominate the Presbyterian way.*

Answ. 1. A sad complaint if true; But to shew how farre from this spirit and practise we have beene, consider first, how loath wee were to appeare in the case, who, though we had bookes of this subject ready for the presse, yet by joynt consent suppressed them, (happily to the great detriment of our cause) for that wee were unwilling to blow a fire.

2. When we did appeare in Pulpit or Presse, whether it was without instigation or no, and how sparing wee have beene, ever since, (untill some late forced replyes) and how inoffensive in our carriages and preachings, we leave to all godly to judge.

3. Instance (but) in the Holland Brethrens Apologie; was it *Impetuously done*, was it A MOCK NARRATIVE, A MEERE CULL? (as this man most abusively styles it) was it not rather *full of Peaceablenesse, modesty and candor, and seasonably needefull?* as that Reverend man affirmed in Print.

4. Doth not *W. R.* know that about this time of promises and Pactions, or a while after our Brethren, of the Presbyterian way did write

write a Letter into *Scotland* with many of their hands to it, telling the Ministers there they did approve of their Governement, and would joyne in the furtherance of it. Now for him to binde our hands, and seale up our mouthes, and then underhand at the same time to fore-determine the matter, and bee ingaged as that way before any solemne disputes, and yet to accuse us for breaking Pactions, seemes neither rationall nor faire. Other things I shall speake to the Preface afterwards in answer to the booke: Onely this, he will make the Reader beleeve, (to forestall him) *that there are some seeming contradictions in our Tenets & apparent repugnances to the letter of Scripture, or light of common sense.* But what reall contradictions are in his Narrative, and manifest repugnances in his Animadversions, to Scripture rules, light of reason, and common sense too, (by the helpe of God) I shall make to appeare, but with a sad heart (I must tell him) that such things should be written by a Brother whom we have so much esteemed and reverenced: but seeing now it is done (rather then so many pretious Saints and Churches should suffer wrongfully) I am forced to uncover. If others be rightly informed and himselfe convinced, I have my ends.

To the Narration in generall.

AS he saith, hee had laid by the thoughts of it a good while, through many discouragements. So (I conceive) if he had cast them by for ever, & made the place of conception their grave, he had dealt better for the truth and himselfe. But he is very angry for want of Narratives. One he must have, and one he will have, be it right or wrong, and if neither *New-England* nor *Holland* Brethren bee worth a Narrative, let him come, he will frame one himselfe. And this shall be no MOCK NARRATIVE, NO MERE OVLL, as the *Holland* Brethren produced, but a more solid thing: Now what it is, will appeare if we weigh three things,

That the grounds on which hee builds it, are sandie and insufficient. I.

The manner of his proceeding, unloving and irregular. II

The matter of it, 1. Full of grosse mistakes, contrarieties to the truth, and contradictions to it selfe. 2. His quotations abused extremely, and wrested. 3. His Marginall notes, very scandalous and offensive. And according to this method, we will proceede, and undertake to make all these particulars good in our answer. III.

First for his grounds.

You would thinke that the grounds on which all his worke is founded, and all *New-England* Churches taxed, had neede bee sound, even, adequate, or else hee will not prove himselfe a wise builder. But they are these three. 1. *Our owne printed Bookes.* 2. *Private letters.* 3. *Other good intelligences,* (as himselfe saith in his Title.)

I. For the printed bookes which he quotes, they are the writings of some godly and learned men there. But that these be rightly conceived, know 1. These bookes (five in number) are not written from all the Elders, two of them but from one only; Another from some few, none of them from all. 2. Not written to the Churches here, as a Platforme of our practise, but sent as an answer to some one or more Brethren in England that desired satisfaction to some quæres of their owne (whereof *W. R.* himselfe was one.) 3. Nor intended by them for the presse, much lesse to be made a standard to prove our Churches opinions and waies by, but published by some well-minded here, without their knowledge, yea against the mindes of some of them. Yet if he had kept close to these in his narration, he had saved his credit, and my paines, but (you shall see) he hath so abused and wrested them (I dare say in wel-neere an hundred places) that his assertions are, not their sayings and words, but his owne, and they will leave him to quit himselfe as well as he can; For as Scripture it selfe (the rule of all things) abused is no Scripture, so the writings of men perverted are no more theirs. This we shall make plentifully appeare.

II. *Sundry private letters lying by him,* (as hee saith) *sent from New-England*; (but names only two letters of their names) are another ground of his story. And whatsoever any one of these writs, (though never so privately, and unknown to any other man in any of all the Churches,) must needs be the opinion of all the Churches in *New-England.* But to shew the invalidity, yea, and impossibility of this to be a good ground, Consider,

II. 1. These are incompetent proofes, and liable to great and just exceptions. For 1. Some, there, are contrary to us in their opinions, Antinomians, Familists, Antichurchians, &c. and even some of his cited letters (as neer as we can gather) are from some of these. 2. Others that write letters from thence, are weake in judgement, not understanding what the Churches hold, or not able to expresse a-

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right what they themselves understand; are all these fit to be the Churches interpreters? Doth not *W. R.* himselfe in his preface say, *Scribimus omnes indocti doctique.* 3. Others may be *novices* & not well verst in our way, nor ripe to give the Churches verdict. 4. Some others, haply, are but in part of our judgement, and not come off fully to the Churches practises there. 5. Others are prejudiced against the *place and persons*; and prejudice (himselfe knowes) can hardly speake well. And (we know) diverse such have wrote letters, which (tis like) are fallen into his hands: Therefore these cannot be built upon for competent witnesses.

And whereas he saith in his Postscript. *pag.* 50. *That these letters come from Members of Churches, and many from Ministers of the Word.* *Object.*

It is answered, That Members of Churches, and Ministers too, may be liable to some or other (and some of them possibly to many) of the said exceptions. Neither is it in our power (nor in any Church in the world) to cure all their Members (or Ministers either) of their distempers; for if it were, you would not suffer your own Churches (in many of their Members and Ministers) to be so infected with sundry grosse errors as they are. *Answ.*

2. A testimonie, against whole Churches had need be sure, that men may trust unto it. But how can we be assured, 1. Whether such letters as he cites were ever written from *New-England* or no, (for I have good ground to question, because he thrusts in *T. G.* to *I. G.* amongst his *New-England* letters, and yet these men never came there, though himselfe saith in postscript, *pag.* 51. ult. l. *That his letters come from Members of our Churches in New-England.*) And as he adds some, so he may adde more for ought I know. 2. If such letters were sent, how can we be assured, that such expressions (as he reports) are in those letters? 2. Or such a scope, (as he puts upon them) to be collected from those expressions? All these must be cleared before we can ground any thing upon them. But *W. R.* tells us so. *Answ.* So he tells us other stories in this booke, that are as far from truth, as *Old-England* is from *New*: which wee have no faith to credit. 2. If he hath so extreamly mistaken the printed letters, which he knowes we can come at to peruse, how can we, or any else, be assured that he hath not more abused his private letters, which no eye but his owne may see?

3. Suppose none of the mentioned exceptions can be had, but that the writers of the letters be as honest, sound, able men as can be imagined, and suppose we could be assured of the particulars recited;

yet all this will not serve, because they are but single men, and write as private persons, their own thoughts, not as betrusted by any commission from the Churches, to write their common Judgements. Therefore no ground to esteeme their letters of such authenticall force, unlesse he can prove they were allowed by the Churches, or were men Apostolicall, that could not erre in writing. 4. If this be a good ground to prove Churches judgements by private letters: marke what absurdities will ensue. 1. That we must believe that the Churches of *New-England* denie a power of votes, ordinarily, to the people, because Mr. *Parker* a Pastour there wrote so. And so of necessity we must believe a falshood. 2. That if *W. R.* and two or three more, should write into *New-England* of their allowance of the lawfulnesse of an imposed Common Prayer booke; then we may write and print it, (for so doth *W. R.*) that the Churches and Ministers in *Old-England*, doe *generally* allow such impositions. 3. Then any few envious or malicious persons in a Church, may bring a scandall (unavoydable) upon any Church in the world, if what they say and hold should be accounted the Churches judgement, where they live. 4. Then the Churches of *England* are all Antinomian, and Familisticall, because (on our knowledge) such letters have been written from some in these Churches as professedly maintaine such opinions: how absurd these conclusions would be, let any indifferent man judge.

5. Yea, (to sinke this unreasonable dealing of his) [IT IS IMPOSSIBLE] that this should be a sound discovery of the Churches judgement and practise there, because many of these letters cited speake contrary one to another, (as himselfe well knowes) and his Narration fully expresseth) yet *all the Churches in New-England*, (saith *W. R.* himselfe in his 1. *pag.*) *are of one and the same way in Church Government, and what may be said of any one may be believed of all*: Therefore it's impossible that his letters (which speake contraries) can be a sufficient ground of testimonie for our Church way, *which is but only one*. And for him to produce them, as a proofe of what they cannot possible make good, appeares not only A SEEMING CONTRADICTION, but against light of COMMON SENSE, which he falsly imputes to us, but we truly to him.

6. Lastly, we appeale for a conclusion of this Argument, from *W. R.* in a distemper to the same man in his right minde, to tell us, now ingenuously, if this be a good Argument, *by one mans writing to prove the Churches judgement*. No saith *W. R.* (*pag.* 3. *line* 4. of this ve-

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ry booke) it is not, *for such a booke* (saith he) *called our way of the Churches, proves not, that they hold a platforme of Discipline in New-England: and why. Because it was compiled by one particular man, and not consented to by the rest.* What can be more full?

But he leanes not upon the testimony of any one letter, but produceth divers letters for the proofe of every particular. *Object.*

If he did so, it were insufficient as is proved, but he often produceth one single private letter alone, without any other evidence at all. as I can make appeare in above fifty severall places throughout the booke. *Answ.*

But he will tell us that he produceth not these private letters and manuscripts by themselves alone to prove our judgements, and practises in *New England*; but *as ioyned with the printed bookes or papers, to make the storie complcat.* *Object.*

But it is not so neither, for in abundance of places he produceth none of the printed bookes at all for proofe, but only these private letters, as his only ground. As *Cap.* 1. *Art.* 2. *Cap.* 3. *Art.* 2. *medio.* and *Art.* 4. And *Art.* 5. And *Art.* 11. *Cap.* 4. *Art.* 9. And *pag.* 17. *pag.* 18. *pag.* 19. *Cap.* 5. *Art.* 2. And *Art.* 3. And *Art.* 4. And *Art.* 5. And *Art.* 6. And *Art.* 7. And *Art.* 8. And *Art.* 9. And *Art.* 10. And *Art.* 11. *Cap.* 6. *Art.* 10. *Cap.* 7. *Art.* 4. *Art.* 5. *Art.* 6. *Art.* 7. *Cap.* 9. 9. And above twenty more, mentioned in the Margent and the postscript. Therefore it's evident he grounds a very great part of his Narration upon these private writings, which are altogether insufficient, as we have proved upon demonstrated reasons. *Anſ.*

But he was not there himselfe an eye-witnesse to behold things; he produced the best grounds he had for his Narrative. *Object.*

What calling had he more then others to make any Narratives of things done 3000. Miles off, which he knew no better? he should rather have let it alone then abuse the truth, the Churches, and all dabble himselfe upon such slight grounds as these are. *Anſ.*

But see his third ground, he hath OTHER GOOD INTELLIGENCE, that is, by word of mouth. III.

1. Who can witnesse he hath such Intelligence? *Answer.*

2. That this is GOOD Intelligence?

3. Where are those good Intelligencers? let them come face to face and be tryed: but if they be peeping behind the doore, we owne them not for good Intelligencers.

Thus we have seene the unsoundnesse of this foundation whereon he builds his story, and the Axletree on which all the burden lies, being

being thus broken, the NARRATIVE must needs fall without any further opposition.

II. But as his grounds are weake, so the manner of his procedings is 1. Unloving. 2. Irregular.

1. UNLOVING. Witnesse 1. All those calumnies, he strives with all his might, (though to no purpose) to cast upon his, so much HONOVRED BRETHREN, from the beginning of his Preface to the end of his Postscript. 2. His crosse-grained animadversions, where are so many quibs, gibs, scoffes, and far-fetched collections, to make *New-England* men and their wayes odious to the world, together with his darke and doubtfull expressions, (often drope out) which may easily be taken by the Reader in the worst sense: As though he reserved his evasions if he should be put to it. 3. His style full of bitternesse, that a man may know who the writer is: though he put downe but two letters of his name. 4. That he will (against all common sense) needs make us as much differing from the Churches of *England*, as the most rigid Brownists, yea in some respects more; and this hee strongly contends for, though we (professedly) in our writings, preachings, practises manifest the contrary, and testifie as oft as occasion serves, the great dislike, & of their rigid Separation. 5. As he hath cast us out of his own heart, so he labours to bring all men out of conceit with us, the Churches here, the Parliament, the Assembly, the whole Kingdome, 3. Kingdomes, yea all other Churches and Nations: As if we and all our Church-courses were a compound of absurdity and folly: But in this, as in the rest, we commit our case to God that judgeth righteously, who can cleare us as the light, *Psal.* 37..

☞ As his dealing is unloving, so irregular for it's directly against the Apostles rule, 1. *Tim.* 5. 19. AGAINST AN ELDER RECEIVE NOT AN ACCVSATION, BVT BEFORE TVVO OR THREE VVITNESSES. Where it's plain, that *Timothy* himselfe must not receive so much as (one) accusation against any one Elder of a Church, but before two or three witnesses that are able to make it good, (so tender is God of the names of his Ministers.) But *W. R.* so far forgets himselfe, and this blessed rule, that he receives.

1. Not one, but MANY accusations (as his booke shewes.)
2. Not against some one Elder, but in a manner, ALL THE ELDERS, YEA AND MEMBERS TOO, AND ALL THE CHVRCHES IN *N. E.*
3. And all this not upon report of TVVO OR THREE VVITNESSES

NESSES, but some one single testimonie.

4. Yea, not so much as one single witnesse produced BEFORE us, as the text requires, but onely hee himselfe saith, hee hath such and such a letter by him, tells him so: So that (upon the point) there is not one legall witnesse, but all the testimonie is involved upon himselfe only, (a most incompetent man) and unfit to be an Informer, an accuser and a witnesse too, much lesse in the roome of two or three witnesses.

5. And (which is yet more) he doth not only receive these accusations, but [reports them to others,] yea divulge and print them to the whole world.

6. And all this too, with as great infamy, dammage and wroog before the Churches and Kingdome, as may be imagined, and at such a time also, as never was in our age, when as the Parliament and assembly both sit at once, consulting about Church-Discipline.

7. And he staies not in the bare reporting these accusations, but [So] reports them, as one [labouring to draw all others into the like errour, of beleeving them]

8. And (which is worse then all the rest) he brings such reports against us, as,

1. It's nothing to him, whether they be true or false.
2. Yea, which he certainely knowes are false.

The former of these I prove from his owne words in his Postscript, pag. 50. *I undertake not* (saith he) *to report things* (in New-England,) *as really there they are*, WHETHER THEIR REPORTS BE TRVE OR FALSE IS NOTHING TO ME. The latter appeares, in that, in sundry places of his booke, he relates things that are (*ex diametro*) contrary each to other, (both which he well knowes cannot possibly be true) and yet lets both stand still on record against us, and then infers bitter invectives, in his animadversions, from such contrary reports. You will stand amazed at this dealing, (I suppose) which (I conceive) I am bound to discover, that the world may see how we are abused by him, and cleare us in their apprehensions.

This for his grounds and manner of dealing. I come now to the manner of his Narration. III.

Answer to the Title.

A Narration of some Church-courses generally held in opinion, and practised by the Churches lately erected in New-England.

Answer. LEt the Reader mind well the latitude of *W. R.* his undertaking in his booke. It is to make a Narration (not of some particular mens practises here and there in *New-England*, (but of the opinions and practises of whole Churches there, and) not of some one or two Churches (for that is too narrow, shall for his scope,) but of THE CHURCHES in *New-England* (indefinitely.) And that you may know for certain he means to tell you what [all] the Churches there doe hold and practise, and (not sometimes, but) in their constant course (he saith plainly,) *they are the Church courses* GENERALLY *held by the Churches in New-England*, which he will declare; so that though he speakes but of some Church courses, yet those he doth mention must be such, *as are generally held and practised by the Churches there.* The performance of which in its latitude (let him know) we expect, and if he comes short of this, unlesse he revoke his title, he will doe us wrong.

Answer to CHAP. I.

I. THe summe of *Art.* 1. and its Margent is *That the Churches of New-England, being the same in Discipline with Plymouth, and Plymouth having their Principles from Mr. Robinson it is to be inquired whether we be not all of the way of the Separatists.*

Answer. 1. As in our judgements we much differ from them, so in several particulars of moment, we practise what the Separatists (properly so called) will not doe, as hearing, preaching, praying in the Assemblies in *England*, and also in private communion with them, &c.

2. Though we should practise some of the same things they doe in Discipline, doth that make the way evill, simply because they doe it? First, he must prove that the Separatists practise nothing right at all, or else that we must not, because they doe it.

3. Himselfe hath fully answered for us, Preface *pag.* 3. who saith to this effect. *Though in Discipline men generally act like others,*) he meanes the Separatist.) *yet if in their opinion of these practises, and*

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in the grounds of them, they not only differ, but flatly oppose them, the just respect of such persons is to be preserved. We need looke no further to cleare us from censure, then to *W. R.* himselfe. For it's well know he we differ from them in our opinions and grounds of our practise, and how we have opposed rigid Separatists in that very point, let our own writings witnesse; Discourse of Covenant. 36. 37. 38. 52.

Here note (once for all) he saith, *that the churches in New-England are of one and the same way in Discipline without any materiall difference: And this he would have remembred all along his booke.* I hope he will not start from this afterwards. I pray him to mind it.

He saith *Art* 2. *We have no Platforme agreed upon among st us.* II. *Answ.*

1. We hold it not unlawfull to have a Platforme of Church Government, *i. e.* a confession of the Discipline of Christ, collected out of Scripture, and set down in writing.

2. Yet we see no Grounds to impose such a Platforme upon Churches, but leave them to their libertie therein, because (we know not that) Christ ever enjoyned it, and therefore we desire *W. R.* not to stumble at our Churches, much lesse, take upon him, so masterly, to controll us because we have it not.

To the Marginalls of *Art.* 2.

He wonders how we so soone fell into such an exact forme of Discipline without a Platforme. 1 *Objection*

We answer him, (yea he tells us himselfe,) we had it from that patterne of wholsome words written in the Scriptures, Gods good spirit opening our eyes to see it: And some others also, (laying aside prejudice, and humbly setting themselves to waite on God for light) may come to see an exacter forme of Discipline then (it may be) hither to they have done. *Answ.*

But, *why doe no other Churches in the world* (saith he) *besides your selves see this way, but all oppose it?* 2. *Object.*

Blessed be God, it is not so, many thousands doe see and follow it, so far are they from opposing it. And even England is comming neerer it by many steps of late then before; He that hath brought them from Episcopacy, Imposed Formes, and Popish Ceremonies &c. can carry them on further. *Answ.*

2. Most of such, as doe not walke in, but oppose our way, are they that either have not heard our grounds, or else have not impartially weighed them, and hence have received a prejudice against our practise.

3. To reveale light being a free act of the father of light, he may

choose what truths he will manifest, and when, and to whom, and in what measure he will dispence them, as Christ saith *Mat.* 25. 21. Father I thanke thee thou hast revealed these things,—so it is Father, because thy good will is so.

Object. 3. But *we tie our selves to a president, why not rather to a platforme?*

Answ. 1. Let him consider well if this be not a reproach injuriously cast upon us, whose indeavour is, and hath beene (as in the sight of God) not to follow mens, or Churches president further then wee see them following Christ: for though at first a president may be looked at, as a directorie into the right way, yet the practise may be grounded on the truth it selfe discerned, and not upon the president, according to *John* 4. 42. They were first led to Christ by the woman, yet after beleeved on him for his owne sake, and the truth they discerned to be in him.

Ob. *All our Churches* (saith he) *in New-England, & their members, doe clearly see the shining light of Discipline, by a cleare evidence of the Word revealed to them, and yet doe tie themselves to a president?*

Ans. Is not here a contradiction? for, if we all have full cleare shining light, then wee neede no spectacles of a president; or if wee tie our selves to a president, it's because wee conceive wee have not full and cleare light of our owne.

Ob. 4. *But We have had divisions amongst us.*

Ans. 1. Those divisions were not caused by our Church Discipline, but by certaine vile opinions brought to us from *England*, (which I feare) is your own case this day, and yet no blame (you will say.)

2. Through rich mercy, they are long since subdued by the light and power of his truth: O that you could say the same of all the loose opinions here, (if the will of God were so) for which wee sigh daily to heaven on your behalfe, and dare not reproach you with it.

3. When these divisions did FALL, it was whiles our discipline STOOD, which shewes that our Discipline bred them not, but destroyed them rather.

Ob. 5. To the Margent on Article 3. *If an imposed platforme by imperious power be unlawfull (in others) Why doe wee so vigorously presse others to our president?*

Answ. To impose a thing (and that by an imperious power) which may possibly be erroneous in it self, or without evidence to others consci-

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ences, on whom it is pressed, cannot bee lawfull: but for us to make the perfect word our patterne, then carefully informe others therein, and after information leade them by it, is certainly much differing from the other, and farre from *a slavish imitation* by our selves, *or rigorous pressing of a president upon others*, both which here he imputes very unjustly to us. As God hath kept us hitherto from such imperious rigour, so I hope, by his grace he will ever doe.

But *wee forbeare giving of our priviledges to such as conform not to our way.* Ob. 6.

1. If it were *our way* and not Christs, it were our great sinne and (in part) the same with the Prelates of late; but to forbeare giving priviledges to such as submit not to the roles of participation, is no rigour, but such a thing as Christ himselfe would doe if in our places. Ans. I.

2. It is no more then all other societies in the world doe, who first require conformity before they permit to any the injoyment of their liberties.

3. Doe wee any more herein, then the Reverend Assembly themselves at this day, who would not willingly admit unto Church-imployments and priviledges, any of a contrary judgement in point of Discipline? And yet, (I hope) you will not say, that either these or those exercise rigour.

But wee will not own such as sister Churches that differ from us (though but in some things) in Church Discipline. Ob. 7.

Doe not the Churches of England differ from us not onely in some things, but in many (as *W. R.* himselfe saith) and yet wee owne them as sister Churches, witnesse his owne quoted Authors, Discourse of Covenant, p. 36. at large, Mr. *Cottons* printed letter. All which affirme in effect, and some in words, *that we blesse the wombes that bare us, and the paps that gave us suck*: We intreate *W. R.* (in the spirit of meekenesse) to cleare himself from a slaunder in such a generall accusation of his brethren. Ans.

Yet we more rigidly impose our patterne then any Churches ever did. Ob. 8.

How great an aspersion this is, I leave others to judge, and the Lord himselfe to convince him of: Why hath, there ever beene so much as any attempt amongst us, to suspend, excommunicate, deprive, banish, imprison any for dissenting from us in matters of discipline, as of late in *England*, for non-conformity? Or to raise a bloody war for Bishops & a Service booke, as against our Brethren in *Scotland*? or to slander, falsifie Authors, render many godly Churches odious to the world, as *W. R.* himselfe hath done in this booke Answ.

(meerely

(meerely) for difference from him in point of Church Government? We have, indeed, Civilly & Ecclesiastically, censured divers there amongst us, but it was for obstinacy in weighty points in Religion, sedition in the state, scandalous practises, as also manifest contempt of the Churches of Christ there, but not any for inconformity in Church Discipline.

Answer to CHAP. II.

I. HE saith Art. 1. 2. *That we currently hold there is no visible Church, but a particular, and that we denie an universall visible Church* [IN ANY SENSE.]

Answ. Though the quoted Authors say, *There is no Church (properly so called) wherein Ordinances may be administered, but a particularly only.* Yet wee acknowledge also IN SOME SENSE a Domesticall Church, *Phil.* 2. *To the Church in thy house*, and an VNIVERSALL Church consisting of all visible beleevers, according to 1 *Tim.* 3. 15. And this HIMSELF grants we hold. *Marg.* 2. *Art.* 2. Why then doth he say *we denie an universall visible CHURCH IN ANY SENSE?*

He stumbles *at the smalnes of the number of members in our Churches*, at their first erection. 7. 8. 9. (saith he) and on this string he harpes foure or five times at least in this booke.

1. What number expresly shall make a Church is not set downe in Scripture. In *Adams* and *Noahs* time when there was not above 7. 8. or 9. persons, will he denie the being of a Church? And what will he make of Christ his family, where were not above 12. besides himselfe? And of the first foundationalls of the famous Church of *Ephesus* who were about 12. *Acts* 19. 7. and *Berea* on that place saith, *Paul* then planted a Church amongst the *Ephesians*.

2. When our number is thus small, it's only in the very first infancy of it, it abides not so, but members are speedily, and daily added, untill they be (as he blames us for not being) a compleate organicall body. Hence here objections also in his Marg. answered, *Of WANT OF IMPLOYMENT AND MAINTENANCE for the Officers* in regard of their small number.

II. He saith Article the third, *We denie all representative Churches in a way of Iudicature.*

Answ. It is because we know no rule to set the Officers in the roome of their

their whole Church, and the Presbyterie in the place of all their Churches, to binde the one or the other to stand to their decrees, unlesse we had Apostles on earth againe, for Church Officers, yet even they were very tender in this point.

To the Margent to Art 1.

I. If he may prove the number of 7. 8. or 9. too small, to administer censure, and so no Church, he makes a sure addition of his own to a rule of Christ: for whereas Christ directs, *Mat.* 18. 15. 16. an offended brother to take one or two only to him to admonish the offender in private, and then tell the Church, now he will have this course, (beyond the rule) twice gone over, that he may make the foretaid number too small for a Church censure. So that he will rather crosse Christ himselfe then not thwart us, and here he makes a long discourse to shew his owne weaknesse the more in this new devised censure of his.

II. He saith, *The Apostles Churches consisted of many thousands.*

Answ. 1. Not in their first beginnings, for in the greatest Church the number was small enough at first in comparison, *Acts* 1. 15, and this is the time of our Churches we now speake of.

2. Their growth was sudden, and by an extraordinary way, (certain thousands being added in two dayes,) and so necessity inforced their abode together at present.

3. They continued not long so great a body, but were soone dispersed by Sauls persecution of them, *Act.* 8. 1.

4. While they did hold together, they might possibly meete to edification, as well as in some of our Churches here in London, as *Cripple-Gate*, *Olives*, *Sepulchers* and others, where the Ministers voyce may reach to edification, 4. 5. 6. 7000. soules, every Lords day. *Vid.* Mr. *Mathers* booke, pag. Therefore for him to say *it is not possible*, &c. is too large.

III. He tells us our *Churches cannot be gathered in country Villages, especially of such choyce Members*, &c. where so few Saints are, &c.

Answ. 1. That is the fault of people, not of the rule, not of the way; If the Saints be thin sowen, who can helpe it? They ought to have flowed in more abundantly to Christ by the Gospell in all this time.

2. They may partake of all Ordinances, as they did, except the Sacraments, and (such as are fit) of those also, in best times, and ways as may be ordered for most conveniency.

3. He must not limit Gods power, who by the word rightly dispensed and his blessing thereon, can raise a people for himselfe beyond all

Gen. 13. 14.

our

Ephes. 3. 10. (out thoughts, as he hath done elswhere.

IIII. He takes much paines to no purpose in Marg. *Art.* 2. to prove
M 9. 3. (in confutation of us) *that in some sense, there is an universall visible Church.*

Answ. Why, we never denied it [in some sense,] but blamed him, (even now) for saying, we denied it.

☞ I wonder at the man, who saith, 1. That we hold what we doe. 2. Then pretendeth to prove it, but falsifies his Authors. 3. Then makes confutation of his own sayings, as if they were ours. 4. Then flings reproaches on us for such sayings, which are not ours, but his. 5. (To make us amends) in the end of his Margent. he fathers all upon our mutableness, saying, [sometimes] *we acknowledge an universall visible Church, but usually denie it*; and yet even in this also, he slanders, not bringing (nor being able to bring, I verily believe) one word of proofe, that ever we denied it: Let him make those things good, or humbly confesse his error.

V. 5. To Marg. of Art. 3. he saith. *Though we denie* (in Art. 3.) *the Officers of one Church power to represent their Church in her judicature, &c. yet sometimes we are forced to use messengers to represent the whole body, as at the constitution of a new Church, and private examination of Members to be admitted, &c.*

Answer. Thus he would beare the world in hand, (if you will believe him) that our practise doth crosse our Principles, but there is no such thing, for here he proves not, neither can, that we denie a Church that libertie, (which all societies in the world have, *i. e.*) to depute & delegate her Officers, in some particular cases [as in her name and stead] to represent the whole body: for this is no more then the Church of Antioch did, Act. 15. 2. and then our selves frequently doe, in some instance he mentions and divers others.

But what is this to the giving those Officers generally a power of judicature in and over that Church: and a compound Presbyterie, in and over all their Churches, whom (he saith) they represent; because we denie the latter, doe we therfore the former?

3. It is meete he should take notice of a double aspersion (without any shew of ground or proofe) cast upon us. 1. That we denie any representation of Churches. 2. That we crosse our principles, in practising what we denie; both these imputations, (I hope) he will honestly acquit us of.

VI. Marg. Art. 4. *In the definition* (saith he) *of a Church the Officers are left out.*

He knowes well that a definition must accord to the lowest de-

gree

gree of the thing defined, therefore we use to put in only essentialls and not all integralls into the definition: for suppose the Officers of a Church be taken a way by death from it, yet (I hope) he will not say, that in the vacancy, the Church ceaseth to be, Officers are not simply for the being, but the well-being of a Church.

See how he adulterates his quotation, in two or three Articles of this Chapter.

1. (He saith) his Author affirmes, *we hold there is no visible Church but a particular*. But his Author saith, no visible Church (properly so called) but a particular, so *W. R.* leaves out the middle words, just as in *Mat.* 4. 6. whereby the sense is exceedingly altered, fith a Church improperly so called is yet a church. *Answ. to q. p.* 10.

2. He saith, [*we currently hold this*;] but his Author speaks modestly in these words, *we know not any*, &c. *Ans.* to 32. *q. pag.* 9. *Ans.* to 9. *Pos.* 66.

3. He saith, we hold there is no universall visible Church [in any sense;] but his Author saith only, *we know no such visible Catholike Church*, wherein the seales are to be dispensed] *Ans.* to 9. *Pos.* 66. A man with halfe an eye may discerne this is not square dealing.

Answer to CHAP. III.

THis Chapter is spent in laying downe what qualifications the Churches of *New-England* require in persons of age that are admitted Members.

He tells us (to name but the heads in briefe.) [*That they must be reall Saints, sincere Beleevers, men of meeke and humble spirits and sincere ends, and that the Church in admitting of them, doth make exact triall, 1. by letters of recommendation, 2. or testimony of Members, 3. experience of their conversation, 4. by examination of their knowledge and the worke of grace, first in private, then in publique, 5. that they be such (which he saith is much desired) as can cleave together in opinion and affection, 6. that they cohabite as neere as may be, for the better mutuall watchfulnesse, 7. that they be such as know what belong to Church Covenant, approve it and seeke it.*]

I pray *W. R.* (speake now as a Christian and as a man of God,) Is there any thing in all this you have said, that you can blame in our practise, 1. for desiring to have all our members (if it might be) of such a spirituall stampe and character as this, and 2. for endeavouring by tryall (what lies in us) to find out such as say that they are Jewes and are not, but doe lye, 3. and having discovered such, for keeping them from polluting the holy seales and other Ordinances of God to his dishonour, and their own

ruine, 4. or if we (as far as our light and line reaches, for wee have no spirit of infallability) find them found in the faith, for receiving, encouraging, comforting them, what hurt is in all this? I tell you, *W. R.* if your selfe and some others did take more exact pains in the tryall of your people, and fitting them for the enjoyment of Church-Priviledges, it would never repent you.

Now, although these particulars recited, doe justifie us and our proceedings; yet marke his dealing, first in his Articles, then in the Margent of his chapter.

I. He tells the world Art. 2. *That we require in persons to be admitted, not only to be common, but* [*choyce Christians.*]

Ans. If by *choyce*, he meanes *eminent* Christians, it's very false, for we accept Christians of the lowest forme, and never reject any for want of parts or eminency of grace, if we can discerne in them an heart smitten with sense of sin and need of Christ joyned with a blamelesse conversation, though very weake in knowledge and faith, &c. we dare not refuse but embosome them in the Lord.

And himselfe (when he will speake the naked truth) confesseth as much Art 8 & tells us what great indulgence we use in the admitting members.

Let the Reader take notice, that upon perusall of his Authors quoted, he shall not find any one sentence or word tending to justifie his saying herein.

II. Hee would make men beleeve in Article the second, that wee hold *if any be admitted that is not a reall Saint, he is false matter of the visible Church.*

Answer. This he boldly affirmes, but not one word of proofe, nor truth. We hold no such thing; for a visible Saint may be true matter of a visible Church, when admitted a member, upon his profession of godlines and taking the Covenant as *Achan*, *Iudas*, *Ananias*, & *Saphira*, were all true matter of the visible (though not of the invisible) Church, else they had never beene admitted, into the Churches. And that our Churches in *New-Eng.* hold so, *vid.* 1. 2. *Ans.* to 32. 9. 50. Discourse of the Covenant pag 5.

Hence now, what will become of all his long Margent to Article 12. where hee keepes a great stirre in confuting us by foure tedious arguments of an error we never held, but it's one of his owne framing. So all his labour therein is lost; and some dishonour gained, he said in his preface he would bring proofe for every materiall thing not proved before; yet he breakes his word, because he had a minde to have it true, that it might reflect upon us.

III. He reports, *That every one that is admitted is brought before the whole Church (though never so many) to make their Declarations in publike, & wonders in his margent that we should be so harsh in our dealing, as not to betrust the Elders and some private men with their examinations, Art. 6.* He

He is againe besides the truth, for in the Churches where we have lived many yeares, we have seene such a tender respect had to the weaker sex (who are usually more fearefull & bashfull) that we commit their triall to the Elders & some few others in private, who upon their testimony are admitted into the Church, without any more adoe. And so shew more indulgence to them then *W. R.* doth to us. *As for that question in his margent, Why may not the Officers be trusted with their examinations, &c. Ans.* So they are, frequently, according to your wish. *Answer.*

In the same Article he saith, *That in the publique their Declarations must be to the conviction and satisfaction of all before they can be admitted.* IIII.

It's not so, for though some few be unsatisfied, they use to submit to the rest, and sit downe in their votes, unlesse their reasons be such as may convince the Church. *Answer.*

For his Quotations cited to prove both these last mentioned, good Reader doe us the favour but to search, Answer to 32 quest. pag. 23. 24 and Answ. to 9 quest. 62. 70. and you shall finde them to justifie him so farre, as not to afford him any one word, or so much as a shew and countenance. V.

All I say to *W. R.* is this; How can this stand with simplicity and truth?

He would make men beleeve Art. 8. that SOMETIMES we goe contrary to our former rigour, by using great indulgence in our admitting members: as if we were not consistent to our selves and principles through inconstancy; and (upon this) taxes us in the Margent for so doing. VI.

Do but marke his dealing in this his proofe of our unconstancy for the self same author, & page he quoted to prove the rigour of our admissions, he cites to prove our indulgence. *Answ.* to 32. quest. p. 8. he brings this for the one and the other as if the same pen had written contradictions in the same page, yet no show of any such thing will appeare if you peruse the place; I leave the Reader to judge. *Answer.*

That such members in one Church in N. E. *as are received to the Sacrament in another Church, must first bring letters of recommendation from their owne Churches, Art. 7.* VII.

Though we hold it a convenient thing (especially for such as live farre off, and altogether unknown to any of the Church, where he desires participation of the supper) to bring a testimoniall with him, yet it is a constant and usuall thing (especially if any of the Church knowes them) to accept Members of other Churches upon their desire, without any letters testimoniall, and the Author quoted does him the favour rather to seeme to speake contrary to him then for him, for (saith the Answer to 32. p. 29. 30.) *We doe require letters testimoniall from the congregations in Old-England, for such as come from thence, before wee admit them to the Sacraments, whereas such as come from one Church to another in New-England we receive be-* *Answer.*

cause these Churches in N. E. are better known to us then the rest. See how this testimony favours him.

VIII. The last and worst report of all the rest is in Art. 12. where hee reports, *That if any amongst us doe not seeke and desire Church fellowship in case they may, we account them* DESPISERS OF IT, *A WICKED AND GRACELESSE PERSONS.*

Answ. To which I answer with detestation, (GOD FORBID.) Wee speake it (as knowing God heares all our words) We hope we are farre from such a spirit: for we know well, that many gratious and pretious Saints there amongst us may, and sometimes doe, for a good time abstaine from seeking and desiring Church fellowship for other grounds then DESPITE, WICKEDNES, AND GRACELESSNES.

Sometimes, because they are not setled in a place: sometimes because they desire more experience of the Ministers & people where they should joyne: some for want of cleare light and full conviction of the Church-wayes we walke in: and some others out of many feares about their owne spirituall estate before God, judging themselves (through temptation) out of a state of grace; and dare not venture upon the Seales, &c. whom we yet esteeme pretious Soules and have laboured by all arguments, we were able, to encourage to come into Church fellowship.

☞ See what cause therefore he hath in his marginalls to this Article to upbraid us, *for harshnes, uncharitablenesse, and forgetting the royall law of love in this point, &c.* whereas he forgets the law of love and trust also, in such reports as these are. And for these quotations cited of Answ. to 32. q. p. 21. and Answ. to 9. pos. p. 69. (wee boldly say and doe here challenge him with it) that there is not one word therein to beare him out; and therefore I doe here lay this report upon himselfe, as the raiser of it, let him defend it, or humbly take the blame.

Besides these blurs he puts upon us in the text, he attempts no lesse in his large marginall comments on this chap. by many objections raised against us, (besides those we have taken away already.)

Object. *As that we keepe our Church doores so close shut, and why may not faire evidences and shewes of Grace in such as offer themselves, be sufficient for admission? and what needs such narrow searching and sounding of mens hearts to the bottome? and that Christ never made such rulers, and the Apostles and their Churches never practised the like, and that reall and internall holinesse is not required to make a member, but only federall and externall, &c.*

Answ. Doe but see, how Church members were wont to be qualified. *Matt.* 3. 6. *Act.* 8. 37. 38. *Act.* 19. 18. 9. *Rom.* 10. 9. *and* 15. 34. *Eph.* 1. 1. 1 *Cor.* 9. 13. 2 *Cor.* 8. 5. Where is plainly expressed, what frame such were of. *They confessed their sinnes; They professed their Faith, They believed in the Lord Jesus, With all their heart. They confessed & shewed their Works. They openly burnt as many*

many conjuring bookes as were worth no lesse then fifty thousand peeces of silver. They were men beloved of God; Called to bee Saints; Full of goodnesse, filled with knowledge. The faith of some of them spoken of through the world; Faithfull in Christ Jesus; Professed their subjection to Christ; gave up themselves first to the Lord, and then to the Church by the will of God. Now let *W. R.* speake, is here only federall and externall holinesse, were here onely faire Overtures and some shewes of grace? but if we goe further then his principles carry him: *Then wee keepe our Church doores too close; Then hee cryes out; its against charity, against christian wisedome, against Justice and all; and then why will not Overtures and shewes serve our turnes?* I tell you these Overtures & shewes (*W. R.*) have done mischiefe enough already, (a man would thinke) to Christ his Kingdome, and to these poore English Churches, its even high time (sure) to presse on further now then Overtures, first you were for stinted Liturgies, and now pleade for Overtures; whither next?

But to Margent on Article 4. *What needs we be so nice in our admissions, whereas men in Scripture have beene admitted into Church Communion upon one testimony onely, as Paul Acts 9. 27. upon Barnabas testimony alone, and Phœbe, Rom. 16. 1. upon Pauls bare testimony.* 2. *Object.*

1. For *Pauls* admission; If you would consider, 1 The incomparable eminencie of Grace, and singular excellency of spirit that was apparent in *Paul*: 2 The high esteeme and credit that *Barnabas* (who gave testimony of him) had in the Churches hearts, (as Acts 11. 24. Acts 4. 36. Acts 13. 2. and 13. 7. and 15. 25.) And thirdly, The fulnesse of his testimony which he gave in for *Paul*, Acts 9. 27. you will easily answer your selfe, that there were more grounds for his admission then ever were required of any member into a *New-England Church*. *Answ.*

Secondly, For the admission of *Phœbe* by *Pauls* testimony only, Rom. 16. 1 Its answered, *Pauls* bare estimony was more then twenty mens words in the Churches hearts: 2 But here is a great mistake, for *Phœbe* was not by *Pauls* testimony admitted into Church fellowship (for she was already a member of the Church of *Cenchrea*, yea and a servant of it too, *viz.* either a widow of that Church, or sent from that Church to *Rome* upon some speciall businesse) but shee was only recommended by *Paul* to the Church of *Rome*, during the time of her abode amongst them, not for any admission into the Church at *Rome*, but for assistance in some busines, Rom. 16. 2.)

What needs is there of Verball declarations of the works of Grace? for if they be subtile Hypocrites they will deceive you with golden words, as Marg. Art. 5. 3. *Object.*

1. It may, and doth satisfie our owne consciences, if we do use all meanes we can, to finde out, by the rules of the word) whether grace be in them or no, if they yet deceive us, its their sin, not ours. *Answ.*

2. God

2. God (who often takes the wise in their owne craft, 1 Cor. 1. 19.) hies open such hypocrites, while they seeke to deceive others, (as frequent experience hath shewen us in the very act of their triall.)

3. Those that are sound doe manifest the sweet smell of their graces by such declarations. Therefore it is not bootlesse.

Object. *It seemes a thing impossible to such good soules as know not the time & manner of their conversion, or have forgotten it, to give account thereof satisfyingly to a multitude, seeing also their manner of inquirie is strict, and the matter inquired into, the spirituall soule points.*

Answ. 1. We wonder, (we confesse) to see a Christian, a Minister of God thus to speake. If it seemes so impossible for some Christians to give an account of the worke of Grace in them, what meant *Peter* to direct *all beleevers to bee alwaies ready to give an answer to every man of the hope that is in them*? If they must give this answer to all (even to persecutors themselves,) (as the Text intends) of the grounds of their hope, is it impossible that these good soules should render account to their godly brethren, who in a loving way demande it, and for their owne good too?

Pet. 3. 15.

2. What if they know not the time, order & manner of their conversion, yet, if they can give any evidence of Christ, now in them by the workings of his Spirit for present, though they know not how Christ came at first into them, its sufficient.

Object. *If an account of their grace must be given, were it not better to have a set and standing rule written and recorded without variation in all the Churches*? ibid.

Answer. Would he have us make a *New-England* Primer, a set forme? this were a way indeede to bring all to a formall course, and to teach every one (though no grace or experience at all of Christ in his heart) to learne (by rote) this forme, and then all were well.

W. R. was (as we heard even now) first, for common praiers, and then for Overtures and shewes, and now you have him for standing formes; You shall see him goe further anon, are not your fingers singed enough yet with such formalities? Its time to cease.

Object. *Through your strict examinations multitudes of our English in N. E. that were reputed godly, are kept out of Church-Order, and themselves and little ones little better then heathens, Marg. on Art. 6.*

Answ. Many, for want of examination of themselves and tryall by others, that went, in common view, for sound ones, possibly (and that not without good cause) upon due triall may be found too light, when weighed in Gods ballance, and its better for such to be discovered here, then hereafter, to their eternall ruine.

2. Many doe keepe out of Church-Order upon sundry other grounds above said, and out of choyce, and not through strait examination.

3. But that the non-admitted *are esteemed by us, or doe live like Heathens*,

than untrue and unsavory imputation: Where we see any breathings of Christ in any, we esteeme them as Christians, we love them dearely, and carry out selves accordingly to them and theirs, though not yet in Church fellowship with us. (God himselfe is our record against such calumnies,) where wee see no grace as yet wrought, we labour in all meeknesse to bring them to Christ, and in meane time take Christian care of them and their little ones, as those that may bee heires of the same grace with our selves: doe men all this to heathens?

But why are men of differing opinions, and men of harsh and rugged dispositions, though otherwise Godly, kept out from your Churches? Marg to Art 9. 7. *Obiect.*

1. If mens opinions be such as destroy faith, or the power of holinesse, as many in *New-England* lately were, (though now layed prostrate by the light and power of the word) or such as doe directly crosse and eradicate the fundamentalls of our Church Government, and the persons that hold these ill opinions are factious and turbulent: It's no wonder though we be slow in admitting such as wee know will destroy either the power of godlinesse, or our Churches peace; but if they differ *onely in some inferiour points* (as you speake) and be of sober spirits, it's known, we admit such and live in peace together with them. *Answer.*

2. Wee never knew men of sowre and cynicall dispositions naturally, meerely for that, if otherwise they appeare godly, and labour against such distempers, to be kept out of Church fellowship amongst us.

But if any man deny the Church Covenant, or doubt of it, your Church doores are shut for ever against him, p. 11. *end.* 8. *Obiect.*

We pray you good *W. R.* speake not against common sense; How can wee possibly admit him into our Church Covenant, that denies the Church-Covenant? can wee make him doe that he denies to doe? Since Gods people must be a willing people, *Psal.* 110. 3. Or if he doubts of the lawfulnesse of it, is it lawfull for him to enter into it doubtingly, or for us to offer it, seeing whatsoever is not of faith is sinne? Rom. 14. last. *Answ.*

But to say, *our Church doores are* [*for ever*] *shut against him*, is a speech as untrue as harsh, for as we waite on God to afford, and on him to receive light, so we are as glad when he is informed therein, & are ready to open our Church doores wide to receive him.

Some other things more slight I passe by in his Marginalls on this Chap. for brevity, the substance of all which may bee referred to some or other of these heads.

Answer to CHAP. IIII.

HE saith, (Art. 1. 2. 6. 7.) *That we account a publike vocall and expresse Covenant — to be the onely absolute necessary constituting forme of a true* 1.

Church

Church; without which no true Church nor true members, but all harlots and concubines.

Answ. He utterly mistakes the subject of the question, for those Authors he quotes, declare not what it is that makes a true Church, but a true congregationall Church, as it is refined according to the platforme of the Gospel: And to such a Church, (say they) is required an explicite Covenant. And that they doe intend only such a Church, is plaine.

1. Because there are in the description of that Church they meane, such particulars (as himselfe layes it downe, Art. 6.) as can belong only to a pure Church, as, 1 *That they walke in all the holy ordinances of God*, 2 *According to the will of God*, 3 *In one Congregation.* All which (wee know) every Church (though true) doth not, (*ergo.*)

2. If wee hold that to every true Church this explicite Covenant is necessary, for the constituting of it, then we should denie the Churches of *Ireland* (for in them is not such an explicite solemne publique Church Covenant) to bee true Churches: but that is farre from us, as Discourse of Covenant. p. 36. 37. 38. *ergo.*

3. The expresse words of Answer to 32. quest. 38. 39. (from which he quotes this 1 Article) (if consulted with) will tell you that a pure Church is the Church intended. Therefore it's cleare, when we make such a Covenant (as *W. R.* expresseth) necessary, it is, to a Church, as it's compleated in all her integrals according to the perfection required in the Gospel, and not to the essence of every Church.

This one thing being cleared, what will now become of all his Marginal collections, exclamations, insultations on the 1. 3. 8. Art. *His eyes out of our inward of rigidnesse, as if we would touch the freehold of the Churches of England, and all the Churches in the world.* But all his invectives are as arrowes shot into the aire; for we hold no such thing as he exclaimes at.

II. We hold (saith he) *That without this solemne expresse Covenant, no true Church or Church members, but all are harlots and concubines*, Art. 1. (he quotes Discourse of Covenant, page 14. 18, 19, 20, 21, 24. to prove it.

Answ. From what wee last said this falls to the ground as false. I say further, (Blessed be our God) wee never were acquainted with such Dialect in our Churches there, we hope such sore censures are and shall be farre from us. And for the quotations hee makes for these words (I marvaile his paper blushed not when he wrote it, because himselfe did not, for) let any man

III. reade over the pages as wee have done, and see if one can bee found so much as savoring of such a thing.

IIII. He reports (Article 1.) that we hold *that members are united to Christ by the Church Covenant.*

1. A Paradox we never knew before, or ever heard of in *New-England*; for wee professe freely wee know no meane or instrument of union to Christ, but faith in the Covenant of grace. 2. This

2. This is a device of his owne braine, for which we boldly againe challenge him as being a thing not possibly to be proved in any of our quoted writings in print, let him (if he be able) prove himselfe honest by making it good, or confesse his fault (as becomes a Christian;) we professe our hearts are justly grieved at this dealing, and the Spirit of Christ in heaven also is (we feare) made sad hereby.

3. In this also he contradicts his owne relation Art. 3. where he plainly saith, *that many that be within the Church Covenant are not in the Covenant of Grace* (*and so not in Christ*;) and yet here he saith, *that by the Church Covenant a man is united to Christ.* So the Church Covenant doth unite us to Christ, and it doth not unite to Christ; how can both these be true? This is too frequent with him, to lay things that are contradictory to our charge; and not a word of proofe from the Authors, as any ground of it. This I lay on him as a further charge.

He reports Art. 2. *That we hold, that joyning our selves in all holy fellowship,* IIII
cannot knit a man as a member of a Church. And quotes Dis. of Cov. pag. 21. for his proofe.

1. The Authour hath not one word to beare him out.

2. We wonder what the man meanes to affirmes this; for [*joyning ones selfe in holy fellowship*] (he knowes) is our usuall and frequent description of the Church Covenant, when wee speake most punctually to it, and doe commonly for that end, cite *Jer.* 50. 5. *Act.* 9. 26. *Answ.*

3. That very Authour, and page, he cites to prove, *We hold, that joyning our selves in holy fellowship cannot knit a man as a member in Covenant*; speakes directly the contrary, in these words, *When joyning*, (saith the Authour) *used for a mans taking on him voluntarily a new relation*, (as in this case hee doth) *there is alwaies implied a Covenant.*

In Art. 3 and 4. he would make as though we our selves speak contrary V.
to our selves, in the one place (he saith) *We hold our Church Covenant to be distinct from the Covenant of Grace*: in the other place, *That it is not distinct, but as a part from the whole.* But we must digest grosser things then this in his narrations: consult with his Author, and you shall see nothing to countenance him; yea he quotes the same Authors for both.

In Art. 7. He tells us, *We hold our Church Covenant must be vocall*: but VI.
proves it not by any one testimony, wee can teade, and its contrary (wee are sure) to our constant practise that admits members into the Church by a Covenant agreed to by their silence only: and as it is contrary to our practise, so to our writing in the discourse of the Covenant, which expressly saith, *that silent consent is sufficient*, and there proves it by *Gen.* 17. 7. and *Deut.* 29. 10.

Whereas hee had reported before of *our rigorous exacting of our Cove-* VII.
nant, and how it must be vocall, and expresse, or it would not serve our turne, nay,

no Churches at all without this explicit Covenant, &c. Now in Art. 8. he puls downe all he hath built, and tells us that we hold *that a bare consent and agreement to be members will serve; And that mens implicit intentions to doe such a thing may suffice.*

Sw. 1. Hee grosly falsifies his Authour brought to prove this minsing of the Covenant, Discourse of Covenant. p. 21. 22. where is not one word that way, and (which much aggravates) he still quotes the very same Author, and p. for our minsing of the Covenant, that he did (in Art 1.) for our rigorous exacting of it.

2. He slandereth us, to make the world beleeve we run contrary waies, *sometimes by over rigorous exacting the Covenant: sometimes againe, that (after all our rigour) we bring it so low, almost to nothing:* whereas in all our writings (I professe it solemnly) there is no shew at all of any such differing practise.

3. Hence also, the ground being rotten, his Marginall construction falls on his owne head.

☞ 4. Hee doth not only abuse his Authour and us, but himselfe also, who said in Cap. 1. Art. 2. *That New-England Churches walke in the same way without any materiall difference*; and yet this is the third time he hath taxed us for grosly differing from our selves: How can these things be? See how many grosse faulterings in one poore article, what are in all his book?

VIII. He sets downe two of the formes of the Church Covenants which any savory and gratious spirit viewing over, and surveighing the godly simplicity of them, cannot (one would I thinke) but approve and relish: yet see this mans spirit (so prejudiced against us and all things wee doe,) that he cannot choose, but (without reason) finde fault with divers innocent passages therein; As 1 *That wee promise willingly and meekely to submit to Christian Discipline without murmuring.*

2. *That we willingly will doe nothing to the offence of the Church, but bee willing to take advice for our selves and ours, as occasion shall be presented.*

3. *That we will not be forward in the congregation to shew our owne parts and gifts in speaking or scrupling nor discover the failings of our brethren.*

☞ Now what spirit (but *W. R.*) would startle, scoffe, and quarrell (as hee doth in his marginalls.) pag. 17. 18. 19. at such plaine-hearted and sound expressions as these, being all clearely grounded on Scripture?

He is angry with us also, *that we mention not (in our Covenants) more particular sinnes and duties then we doe*, and yet is offended that wee mention any at all; how shall we please him?

☞ He tells us againe, *that the former of these Covenants is as fit for wedding as the constitution of a visible Church.*

IX. And then flies from *New-England* to some particular Persons here, who

being

being Ministers of Churches there (saith he) *yet accept of settled imployments, even charge of soules here, and how can they watch over their Church?*

I know but two Ministers of the Churches there, that are in *England* at this time, and how far both those are from setled imployment, much more from taking livings (as these words [charge of soules] imply) God, their owne consciences, and the people (to whom they at present preach) can testifie (little to the comfort and credit of any that thus slaunder them, I advise him to reflect upon his words, and see if there be not somthing in them to be repented of, and recalled. *Answ.*

But how can such (so far distant) watch over their Church; and *contrà*. *Object.*

That hand of Providence, that, upon weighty causes, and with their peoples consent, first led them hither, and upon like necessary grounds (beyond expectation) still detains them here, takes them off at present from performing that duty of watchfulnesse over their people, as in like manner it doth to other Persons, that are absent from their Families and Churches by long sea-voyages, warres, &c. *Answ.*

And yet note, that *W. R.* is the more blamable in these carpings at the Covenants mentioned, because he is convinced in his conscience (as his own words are, *Pag.* 17.)

§ 1. *That all things in those two formes of the Covenant* (*in a faire construction*) [*are very good.*]

2. That if any other interpretation be made of any thing therein, it is no better then [an harsh construction.] *It* is not without a speciall finger of God, that himselfe should first commend the matter of the Covenants; *to be very good*; and blame any other construction that should be made of it, as *harsh*. And yet should immediately, in his very next words, fall upon such harsh constructions in sundry particulars, as he hath done.

He reports in Art. 11. as strange and grosse an untruth (to call it by the faitest terme) and that without any ground at all: *i. e. That we hold* [*that this our Church Covenant* (*as it is distinguished from the covenant of Grace*) *is that Covenant which is sealed by the Sacraments, and for the sealing and ratifying of which the Sacraments were principally ordained of God.*]

I stand amazed at this report, wherein these 4. things lie plaine, which he must prove, we hold. *Answ.*

1. That our Church-Covenant is *that covenant* which is sealed by both Sacraments.

2. That this Church-Covenant, *(thus distinguished from the covenant of Grace)* is sealed by the Sacraments.

3. That the sealing of this Church Covenant was the *end of Gods ordaining the Sacraments.*

4. The principall end. *W. R.* Now prove all these, else you will prove your selfe unfaithfull.

All his proofe we can see is *Ans.* to 9. *Pos.* p. 63. 66. I'le relate the very words, that he may have nothing to alleadge. [*Baptisme* (saith the *Author*) *serves to seale to our Justification, as circumcision did; yet not that alone, but also the whole covenant* (i. e. *of Grace*) *with all the priviledges, as Adoption, Act.* 2. 38. *and sanctification, Gal.* 3. 26. 27. *Tit.* 3. 5. *fellowship with Christ, Tit.* 3. 5. *The salvation of our Soules, Mat.* 20. 23. *and the resurrection of our Bodies,* 1 *Pet.* 3. 21. *and not only the covenant of Grace, which is common to all beleevers, but Church covenant also, which is peculiar to confederates, according to* 1 *Cor.* 2. 15. 29.]

Now here is not said, that the Church Covenant is [*the thing*] sealed, much lesse *the principall end of this ordaining the Sacraments*, least of all that the Church Covenant (*as distinguished from the covenant of Grace*) is the principall end of the Sacraments; but all that is said, is this, that though Justification and the whole Covenant of Grace be the principall things sealed in their circumcision, and our Baptism, yet all the priviledges of the covenant of Grace, and *the Church covenant also are not without their share and benefit in the Sacrament*. How far this expression comes short of his assertion, let others judge.

Now see his marginal note upon this Art. [*Here is* (saith this commenter) *a peece or two of such Divinitie, as I never read, but Uno absurdo dato mille sequuntur* I could resort, *Here is such an absurd foysting in of untruths as I never hardly read in Heathen or Christian writers*: and having taken libertie in a few things at first, now they come in by troopes. As he hath had very ill successe hitherto all the chapter through, let us see if he will speed any better at the last close.

XI. He saith Art. 12. *Infants that were admitted Members by the covenant of their Parents, are not yet permitted to receive the Lords Supper, when they are come to yeeres, until, 1. They have run through all the foresaid course of publike, & private examination. 2. Profession of their faith, 3. Declaration of the manner of their confession. 4. Personall, vocall, and expresse entering into the same covenant as others of yeers have done before them, and as if they never had beene made Members before.*

And for this practise he cites only *Ans.* to 32. *q.* p. 20. 21.

How he deales herein, see that place. If there be not more in his promises, then are in his proofe. All that the Author saith is this, *That there ought to be a renewing of their covenant, or a new profession of their interest in the covenant, and walking according to it*; and professeth modestly too, these are but their *present thoughts* not settled *determinatively, for want of occasion to bring it into practise*, yet he brings him in, as speaking conclusively; and with a lumber of additions, deviations, alterations of his own putting in, for where is now *his running through all the foresaid courses of private and publike examination* (he mentions) *where is his declaration of the manner of*

their

their conversion? Where is his personall, vocall and expresse entering into the same covenant, as if they had never beene received Members before? Whose words are all these? Nay, the Author expresly tells us, *that children are entered into Church covenant already, and doe but renew their covenant*, and he saith *they must enter in afresh, as if they had never yet beene received at all.*

This we must tell him, is not faire dealing, and what will now become of his marginall note upon the Article so mistaken?

Many other collections (besides what we have answered to already) he makes in his marginall notes on this chapter, by way of objection against us, which deserve a little answering: as,

In his margent to Article 2. A strange yet bold assertion (saith he) spoken—without good show of reason: but what is this bold assertion? *That Job and Melchisedec were no Members of the visible Church.* I.

I intreat the Reader to see if his Authors quoted for these words, will beare him out in these [bold] accusations of us or no: All that *Ans.* to 34 37. saith is this. *We make no question of the salvation of Job, and his friends, yet it is a great question whether they were of any visible Church or no, (and gives his reason) seeing the visible Church in those times seemed to be appropriated to the posterity of Abraham, &c. of whose line it cannot easily be proved that all these men did come.* And all the other cited Author (*Cns.* to 9. *Pos.* 66.) saith, is this. *We no where read (there is this reason) that Milchisedec, Job and his four friends were circumcised, neither doe we believe they were*: Now see whether 1. we say and conclude, that these holy men were in no Church, 2. if we boldly assert it, 3. without good shew of reason, 4. if there needs a marginall confutation. *Answ.*

He saith, *that Baptisme, though it doth not really admit infants into the visible Church, yet formally it doth, &c.* II.

He speakes besides the point, for the question is, not 1. What doth *formally* and in the ceremony, but *really*, admit Members: 2. *not Infants* but *men of yeers*: 3. not into the *visible Church*, but a *particular congregation*; so he might have spared this labour, which makes nothing for him, or against us. *Answer.*

To his long Margent to the 3. Article, wherein he grants a covenant in a four-fold sense, but denies and inveys against the strictnesse of our Church covenant, I should have answered, but because he builds all upon a grosse mistake (which was answered already in Article 1.) *i. e. that we make this vocall and expresse covenant necessarily for that constituting of a true Church, and say that all societies are whores and Concubines without it* (a speech abhorred of us) I passe it by, and tell him that what he builds upon such rotten foundations, will *ruere mole suâ*. III.

He makes foure false suppositions, and then drawes sundry conclusions of his own from them, and so fights with his own shadow, *pag.* 15, 16. IIII.

As

As first that we hold *the Church Covenant is the Covenant of grace*.

2. *That in our Church Covenant we hold it necessary and a thing essential to the Covenant, to make repetition of the whole covenant of grace.*

3. *That our covenanting to performe duties to our owne Church hinders our communion with, and care of all other Churches*: Which things being nothing so, but meere mistakes, all his collections from them vanish in the aire.

4. *That some men doe enter into this Covenant, and yet are unsatisfied, that it is a way of God, and so cannot safely engage themselves by this covenant.* Which also (being a meere fancie of his owne) I passe by.

V. The next is as strange as weake. p. 17 *i. e. That if we have a set forme of a Church covenant imposed upon all that enter into the Church, and this read in a booke, why may we not as well have a set forme of Prayer and leiturgie to be read in Churches?*

W. The Narratour shewes still a good minde to set formes, it is the third time he hath been harping on this string.

First, for *Overtures and shewes in members*, then for *set and standing rules* (or formes) *in admissions*, now for *set formes of prayer, and that in Churches, are to be read also in a booke*. He was hard driven for arguments, else he would never have produced this as a ground for set formes of prayer in Churches. For (he might know) there is a large breadth of difference betwixt a Covenant and a prayer. For 1 the one is presented to God himselfe only. The other to man also.

2. The severall Articles and all branches of the one had neede bee certainely knowne and agreed on beforehand, that they may punctually and deliberately know what the particulars are they engage themselves to God in; no such ground for our Petitions in prayer.

3. The one had neede to bee written for remembrance, lest we should forget, (in tract of time) what the severall branches were we bound our selves unto, according to *Jer.* 50. 5. [A perpetuall Covenant not to bee forgotten.] I know no such ground for our Petitions in Prayer, nay it is impossible to doe it.

4. Set formes of prayer are a stinting of the Spirit, who hath promised to enlarge our spirits, by helping our infirmities in prayer, as well in matter as manner, in What, as well as How to Pray. *Rom.* 8. 26. Wee know no such promise for extemporary assistance in the matter and forme of a Covenant.

5. Reading prayer in a booke hinders the affection (which is one principall thing in prayer,) but our maine worke, whiles the Covenant (which we take) is rehearsing, is attention, judgment, consideration, all which are not hindred, but much furthered and helped by distinct reading of it.

6. By reading of a set forme of prayer in the Church, the Ministers gifts (which Christ hath given him for that end. *Eph.* 4. 8. 11.) are obscured, and

in

in great degree buryed, and the presenting to God the severall and continuall necessities of the congregation extreamely hindred and restrained: Neither of which are done by a set forme of a Covenant agreed unto, and read at the taking of it.

7. We have expresse warrant in Scripture for a forme of words and writing of a Covenant, (wch is the very thing we are blamed for) see *Neh.* 9.38. And because of all this we make a sure Covenant, and write it & seale to it. And *Nehem.* 10.29. to the end of the chap. there are set downe the expresse Articles, forme and words of the Covenant that was written and subscribed and sealed by them. Let him shew us the like warrant in the word for a Liturgie or set forme of booke prayer for a congregation. I much wonder that a grave learned man, (especiall in such reforming times as these should so farre forget himselfe as to make such paralliels and talke still of Liturgies.

He saith 1. in this Marginall, *that the Church imposeth that set forme of Covenant (invented by one or more) upon all the Members of that Church.*

Hee reports in the 9. Article (to which this Marginall belongs,) *That the Covenant is ever in one and the same forme of words, as well as matter, in the same Church.* VI.

Both which are great mistakes. 1 To the former, though the forming of the Covenant be the worke of some one or two at first, for how can it otherwise be? yet it is never imposed on any, but all that are to enter into Covenant have full liberty to consider and consult about the matter, or forme of it, or give reasons for addition or alteration of any thing in it. So that the forme of it, as well as the matter, is by his owne act or consent at least; and after all, if hee hath not light and ground, he is (in no case) forced to it. If this be so, he should not have called it *an imposing of the covenant upon the members.* *Answ.*

2. The other is mistaken likewise. For any Church hath and taketh liberty as they shall see just cause (if there be a defect or error in the matter or forme of their Covenant made at first) to alter it, and renew it before the Lord, and bind not themselves to continue in any oversight, because they once fell into it: and some Churches have so done.

But we may here see what a taske *W. R.* hath undertaken to make Narratives of Church courses in such places, where himselfe never came, but rests upon uncertaine and various relations; This is one reason why he so often stumbles in the darke, and rusheth upon so many foule mistakes in every Chapter. I hope it will instruct him for future times. *Semel insanivimus omnes.*

Answer to CHAP. V.

HE is at a sett (in Art. 1. and 2. and their Marginalls) and falls a wondering at the contradiction in them. For in Art. 1. hee saith, *That men may in New England constitute a Church without consent from the Magistrats or neighbour Churches: yet in Art. 2. that there is a generall Court-law, that no Church shall bee set up in New-England without the consent of the Magistrats and neighbour Churches.* Hereat he *stands amazed, and sets his Reader to doe so too.*

I will doe him the favour to helpe him out of this straight, and salve his credit, by telling him; There is no contradiction at all in his Articles; doe but distinguish of times, and you untie the knot.

For there was a time in *New-England* (for some few yeares space) before such a law was made, and then Churches did use to gather, without any notice given to Magistrates or other Churches.

But after the opinions grew on, and experience discovered the danger, there was a law made that none must constitute any Church but first give notice thereof to Magistrates and Churches, and since that this course is duly observed. So both your Art. (*W. R.*) (you see) are true, and your report honest and right.

Yet, withall let me give [you] a few *Animadversions*, by way of brotherly counsell, and I pray take them well.

1. See, what it is to wrong so many godly Saints, and faithfull Churches upon private various informations, and your own mistakes, and so breake that 9. Commandement of our ever blessed God.

2. While you live, undertake no more Narratives of Church-courses in places you are no better acquainted withall; lest (at unawarrs) unhappily you speake evill of things you know not.

3. When a matter lies before you, that admits a double construction, be sure you ever take it in the better, and not in the worser sense. In those two reports, you see one good sense (which indeed is the truth) and that I have given you: Another bad, and that your selfe have taken, for when you stood amazed in your Marginalls at the contrariety of the reports in the conclusion who must be beaten but either your Informer or else *New-England* Churches, for practising such *foule, yea more foule contradiction* (as you are pleased to speake) and yet note, you see neither he nor they, but your selfe only is in all the blame.

II. For the proofe of both these 1. & 2. Articles, whom doth he produce, for the 1. Article, but the Ans. to 32. *q.* *p.* 43. where there is not one word nor jot to prove that the Churches in *New-England* are erected without the

the Magistrates cognisccnce.

Then for the proofe of both the Articles (where this contradiction lies) he produceth *R. M.* to *W. R.* and makes him the father of that monstrous birth of a foule contradiction now this *R. M.* is a godly & Reverent Teacher of a Church there, who would not write such a seeming contradiction without clearing of it some way or other. Ever have we found him sober and wary in all his expressions. 2. This *R. M.* is his old loving friend also (who I know doth dearly respect him,) now I beseech you *W. R.* in the bowells of Christ, to consider if this be an act of love towards your deare friend, without his consent, to discover his letters to the world which were written to your selfe in private, (for those that know you both cannot but know who this *R. M.* to *W. R.* is) 2. to make him the Author of contradictions 3. so to fall upon him in your Margent, (whom you know so loving a friend, and so godly a man) as one that reports to you such things for truth as they neither hold nor practise in *N. E.*

Which is little better then to give him the lye, I leave my thoughts with you, desiring you to take notice of it.

III. In Art. 3. 4. to the end of the chapter, he reports (and that truly excepting some few mistakes) the manner of the first constitution of a Church in *New-England.*

As, *That such Persons as are to enter into Church fellowship doe beforehand often meete privately, to be inwardly acquainted with each other spirits by conference, prayer, & mutuall examination of each other, till they have approved themselves to each others conscience as in the sight of God, and before they joyne, they give notice to the Magistrate and neighbour-Churches, that such as please may be present at the place, and time of their meeting, to give them advice, direction, &c. the day appointed is kept with fasting, prayer, and preaching, &c. towards the end of the day each of those persons now to be Churched, makes publike profession of his faith and the worke of grace in his soule, &c. When the Messengers of the Magistrates and Churches have heard and considered, if they be unsatisfied (or any stander by) they make their objections, &c. and if still unsatisfied, they forbid them to enter into Church fellowship, and so remain without the pale of the Church as they did before; but if they be satisfied, the said Persons enter into covenant, then the said Messengers give them the right hand of fellowship, and returning back make report to their Churches that sent them.*

Now what can *W. R.* or any man object against the substance of things done in this relation? (some mistakes only excepted in the laying of it downe.) One would thinke the godlinesse of the Person joyning the plainnesse, and sincerity of their dealing from the beginning to the end, their care and indeavour to doe all as becomes Saints; and to begin this holy & weighty businesse as in the sight & presence of God, with fasting & prayer; (at least) should stop mens mouths from speaking ill of them and *Answer.*

their wayes. Yet *W. R.* failes in his dealing with them in divers points, which I desire to advertise him of in the spirit of meeknesse.

I. In that offensive phrase, saying, those Persons come now to be *Churches*, he well knowes the meaning of that word; It doth not become gravitie and holinesse to give such deriding words, nor *ludere cum sanctis*, God heares all our words, and sees the scope of our hearts therein. But if he meant innocently in it, I should be sorrie, that I once named it.

II. He speakes twise, both in Art. 6. and 8. of the Messengers of the Magistrates sent to the gathering of the Churches.

Answ. But there is no such thing done, the Magistrates come themselves in person if they can, or if not, they send no Deputies or Messengers, the Churches indeed send Messengers (commonly their Elders) to lend them a word of counsell if they need, being more experienced in those ways, then (cõmonly) new beginners are, to joyne their prayers with theirs & to give them the right hand of fellowship: But the Magistrates send no Deputies.

III. He reports in Art. 8. *That if the Messengers or any standers by be unsatisfied, they make their objections as they thinke fit, untill they be satisfied.*

Then (in his Marginalls upon it) *It's an hard thing (saith he) to satisfie all commers, in what they please; If any objection be against his life, it must be presently, and openly declared before the country. This is little wisedom, lesse charity.*

Ans. Here are many unwise and uncharitable passages laid unjustly to our charge, and all those without any proofe at all but onely *H. W. I. W.* & who knowes where to consult with them?

As 1. *That any standar by, yea all commers may question or object, 2. and that even what they please, 3. if any failings be in their lives they are presently and openly declared before all the country.* Which things are nothing so: For 1. None may speake a word, but soberly and orderly; And 2. not without leave desired and granted; 3. nor how much hee will, nor what hee please; but things very weighty and necessary. And 4. not of any failings to their disparagement. For if they be unsatisfied with any of them in point of discipline, or matters of fact, they are first to deale with them in private, seeing they know before both the Persons, that are then to joyne, and the time and occasion of that daies meeting. And (I am confident) never a Godly sober man will write other wise: *It's little wisedome or charity* (I am sure) for him to affirme things so contrary to the truth.

IV. *That if the Messengers be unsatisfied with any of those that are about to enter into Church fellowship, they are forbidden to enter into Church estate.*

Answer. This is as wide as the rest. For the Messengers never arrogated to themselves such power to this day, nay they professedly expresse against it, constantly in such meetings as to forbid their entrance into Church estate. The most they doe (at any time in this case) is, to desire leave to be faithfull

full in interposing their counsell, and that only, when they see very great cause: And withall leave them to their Christian liberty.

Now having answered to the Articles, we will speake something to those of the Marginalls, on this 5. chapter, which are not touched already.

He tells us, Mar. to Art. 2. *that there are too many here who runne the same Church-courses with us, that hold that the Magistrate hath nothing to doe with the first table.* I.

But 1. he knowes, (or may know at least) that this opinion is utterly against our Judgement, practise, and established lawes in *New-England*, therefore it no way concerns us. *Answ.*

2. Nor doth it any whit reflect upon our cause, (which he is too ready upon this or any occasion to disgrace) for none are more dependant upon Magistracy, then those (they call Independants,) from whose principles they never sucked that dangerous opinion, therefore he did not well to give such by-blowes to innocent persons and waies.

3. If this should be a blot to our cause, that some of our Church-way hold ill opinions; let him make it appeare, that none of his way are grosly tainted with Popish and Arminian leavin, or else blot out, this Margent.

(He saith) Margent to Art 2. (It seemes to him) *we have little lesse then a compound Presbyterie set up amongst us, and Church-Canons in act, though not in rule,* and gives his instances for this. II

1. As it is (saith he) *an agreement amongst the Churches and Ministers, that no Church shall be set up there without the knowledge of other Churches*: [*There is a compound Presbyterie.*]

2. *That no man shall preach or vent any new or uncouth tenants, untill first he hath communicated them with his fellow Ministers.* [*A very good Canon.*]

3. *That such as are to enter into Church estate, do use to meete together before hand to acquaint themselves in private with each other spiritual estate.* [*a* Canon]

1. Doe Canons bind people to obedience, so farre only as they please to agree unto them, and no further? these Canons are an agreement. *Answer.*

2. Doe Presbyteries consist of whole Churches, for he saith, (*as it is an agreement of Churches as well as Ministers its little lesse then a compound Presbyterie*) If Ministers and people both doe rule, who shall be ruled over by this Presbyterie?

3. He answers the thing and contradicts himselfe (both at once,) for he saith Art. 2. this giving notice to Magistrates and Churches, of a Church to be erected, is *by a law of the generall court*, and cannot be as he saith in Margent, an agreement of Churches, therefore no Ecclesiasticall Canon. Suppose many Godly Ministers in London should agree amongst themselves, that every one should preach downe the superstition of (that they call) Christmas, and promise each other, that (till they should give in their

their reasons to the contrary) they would not preach for or against discipline: would *W. R.* call this agreement a Presbyterie, or a Canon?

Let him see then how extreamely wide he is in the other.

II. *If Churches* (saith he) *send Deputies or Messengers to represent themselves, and to act in their room, why not in a Synod as well?* Marg. to Art. 6.

sw. If Churches send their messengers, or chosen men, to conferre and consult onely in a Synod in their names, without any Authority of concluding and determining of matters, or (much lesse) binding their Churches to what they determine of, (which is our case in *New-England* (as we have said) I know nothing against such a practise: But if Synods doe more, and goe further, his allegation is to no purpose.

III. *If so much time* (saith he) *be spent in joyning seven or eight persons together into one Church, how much time would be requisite to ioyne* 3000 *together? but the Apostles went a shorter way. Marg. to Art.* 10.

sw. Consider first, 1 The Gifts, Graces and abilitie of discerning, that were in the Apostles above any Minister now living, who as they were able to preach with lesse time of studie, so to dispatch and turne over weighty businesse with more speede and dexterity, then we are.

2 The extraordinary, wonderfull and visible stroke of God upon the spirits and hearts of men that heard *Peter* at that time; the meeting; the language; their understanding of it; Gods assistance of *Peter*, and blessing on the word, all extraordinary: Such a day, such a Sermon, such effects as never were before, nor like to be, to the end of the world; so the power of God was remarkable in their conversion, so also in their expression and demonstration of it; So that there needed little triall when God spake himselfe from Heaven.

Answer to Chap. VI.

I. HE reports (to recite such things onely as most neede Answer, and let the rest passe) Art. 1. 2. *That we hold, that Christ hath invested with all power any that are in Church-fellowship, that though they be all illiterate, yet they may make & examine all their Officers, & unmake & depose them when they see cause so to doe, and preach expound and apply the Word with all Authority, yea and doe it without any reference at all to their Officers* (*as Officers*) *when they have them.*

sw. If I did delight in retorting, I could say of these words, as hee of Holland Ministers Apologie, *They are a meere Gull*, for almost so many words so many mistakes. The Narratour should have done well first to have proved all the Churches and Ministers in *New-England* men out of their wits, and voide of common sense, and then hee might more easily have made the world beleeve they hold and practise such a congeries of absurdities and impossibilities; For else many of them there being well known

to

to bee learned, godly, and sober men, no wise men will beleeve him that they can hold, that

1. *Illiterate men can examine Pastors sufficiency.*

2. *Depose them at pleasure.*

3. *Preach, expound, and apply the word with all authority.*

4. *And that without any reference to their Officers at all.*

5. *And (which is most strange) that Christ himselfe hath invested these illiterate ones with all power to doe all these things.*

For 1. It is a received practise amongst us, that when any combine into a Church, there is one at least of them indued with able parts of humane and divine learning, that either hath been a Minister in our native country, or is fit to be one amongst them, who usually and frequently preacheth to them after they are united. So that al of them are not men illiterate, and *W. R.* himselfe knowes this to be true, for the Answer to the 32. quest. 41. (which is the very page hee here quotes) directly saith this in so many words:

2. *That those illiterate men do examine their Ministers abilities, and that we hold they ought*; is another great mistake, for so wee should put men upon a worke beyond their reach, which were idle; whereas the truth is, that (if the sufficiency of such men as they intend to call into office bee not well knowne to them) they use to call in the helpe and assistance of Elders in other Churches to survey their abilities, and to informe them therein, that thereby (as well as by their owne experience of them and discerning of their gifts) they may be able to give in their suffrage for election when the time comes.

3. *For their unmaking and deposing them againe when they see cause*; Wee hold and professe it a thing most injurious to Jesus Christ himselfe in heaven & to his Ministers on earth, and such a thing, as (not only Christ will summon Churches at the great day to answer unto, but) our Churches there will also expect satisfaction from them for it, if they should thus depose Ministers (as he saith) *when they see cause*, unlesse Christ himselfe shall see good cause to allow their fact to be done according to the rules of his owne word. Wee are so farre from holding this, that wee protest against such practises.

And to shew how wary wee are in this point, no Church dares trust her owne judgement: but our manner is, as his quoted Authour speakes. Answer to 34. q. of p. 41. *Our practise is in removall of Ministers to have counsell and assistance from sister Churches.*

4. Whereas he saith also, *That we hold that men illiterate should preach with all authority* (which is a worke and a taske for the ablest Ministers to performe) is as farre from us, as any of the other. For though wee deny not, but in some case, some able judicious experienced Christians, may humbly

humbly & soberly, when necessity requires, as in the want of Ministers & being invited thereunto, dispence now and then a word of exhortation to their brethren. This is farre enough from Preaching in an ordinary way, *with all Authority*; which are words of his owne, put in without any ground.

5. But for him to adde *that we hold they may thus preach when they have Officers, and that without any reference at all to them*, is extreamly contrary to our practise, and furthest from the truth. For this would directly crosse Christ his institution of calling Officers in his Church, and make meere cyphers of them, whose Office it is not onely to preach, but to rule and governe the Assembly, to open the doore of speech to any in the congregation, and to shut it up by silence, so that none may so much as speak without his allowance.

☞ And this expression of his is contrary to his owne Narration in Art. 8. where he saith, *That some of the Acts we ascribe to our Ministers in Office, are to declare unto their people the minde of God, and to moderate in Church-meetings*: yet here he speakes cleane contrary to himselfe and the truth also.

☞ 6. For him to adde, *That wee hold that Christ hath invested these illiterate men with all power to doe all these things, so farre beyond their power, and all ordinary possibility, contrary to all rule, and to his owne institution*; is to put upon us one of the grossest absurdities that ever was heard of; even to make Christ crosse himselfe, and to be a patron of confusion in his owne house, by investing them with all power to oppose his owne rules of Order.

Now let us see what grounds our Narratour hath to lay all these charges against us. You will thinke, sure his proofes are strong, or hee would never have ventured, to blemish so many thousands of Gods faithfull servants in such sore accusations as these. True hee quotes many, and (that I might see his bottom,) I have surveied all the printed Authors in every ☞ page quoted; and (I solemnly professe it) that none of these particulars rehearsed as hee hath laid them downe, much lesse in them all, will any of them beare him out: and I desire the Reader to try, whether I blame him justly or no, by perusing the bookes.

But that you may see how soberly and cautiously his quoted Authors speake of Churches using their liberty, I will write their own words. *Ans.* to 32. q. 44. *Wee conceive every Church hath right from Christ to transact all their Church businesse*, (but marke the cautions) *If so be they be able and carry matters justly, and according to the rules of the word.* How different are those words from his? yet this is the very place he cites.

You say, *W. R.* you undertake onely to *tell a story of New-England* Church way, but now you make a story of your own, and frame it, and mould it after your owne fashion. You can so adde and alter as to make

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it speake as you please, that wee and our waies may seeme odious to the Churches. Is this *a sruthing of it in love* (as you spoke in the last words of your Postscript?) and dare you pray for a blessing on your booke (as in the last words of your preface you doe, saying,) *Nam the blessing of heaven go with this poore Pamphlet*, when it is so stuffed and bumbasted with such fearfull untruths and slanders?

Art. 3. *All which* (Church matters) *wee claime power* (saith he) *to our selves to doe, without any Authority, concurrence, or assistance of any other Churches or Officers.* II.

Authority is either *immediately from the person*, & that some call coercive and forcing; or *from the rule*, and that some call doctrinall, (no lesse binding then the other.) The former in transacting Church matters, wee use not, for want of Scripture grounds, that Christ hath given any other Churches or their Officers power over us. The latter upon al occasions we improve by calling in the assistance of other Churches, and hold our selves bound to follow their counsell as farre as it is grounded on the word. *Answer.* V

Art. 6. He saith we hold *the Church (if she conceives that the Officers doe not use their power well) may resume it unto her selfe.* III.

If he meanes (while they abide in their Office) they may doe this, wee must protestе against his relation; for if the Officers doe abuse their power, the Church exhorts him as a father, to fulfill his Ministery received from the Lord, as *Col.* 4. 17. and if great neede require, they may admonish him, and if no other meanes will possibly cure, they may at last for incorrigible going on in manifest abuse of his place, excommunicate him: but in no wise, while he abides in Office to resume their power, and enter upon his worke. And observe him againe quoting his Author to beare him out in his speeches, who is not for him, but against him. *Def.* to 32. q. 58. where he saith, *that no member without breach of order, and presuming above his place, may doe our Ministeriall acts of Church Government, but the Presbyters may onely doe them.* Which *Aut.* of ours doth also take off those Marginalls, pag. 26, and saves us further labour and part of the 7. Art. also that speakes to the same effect. *Answer.*

He saith Art. 7. *We hold the Officers are all, but the Churches Servants in regard of speech, and the Church the Mistris.* IIII.

That all Officers are the Churches Servants was no strange thing to a Minister farre better then any of us, 2 *Cor.* 4. 5. *Ourselves your servants for Christs his sake.* But (because he must needes keepe his hands in ure) hee will in this (as almost in all his Articles,) be still adding something of his owne, to blurre the businesse. Therefore he saith, wee hold Officers but the Churches servants, which word [*but*] implyes a vilifying of Ministers and their place: whereas we have learned to esteeme them very highly for their workes sake, 1 *Thes.* 5. 13, and also that they are *only* servants, nothing, *Answer.*

thing, *but*, servants; whereas we know they are Governours also. 2. He adds another expression of his owne, *in propriety of speech*, and makes a great stirre in his Marg. on that Article, *that a Minister should be a servant in propriety of speech*, (whereas it is his owne addition, and not our speech.)

Answ. The Officer may be said to bee a ruler and a servant too, in divers respects, as *Heb.* 13. 17. with 2 *Cor.* 4 5. And Christ himselfe is both, and so is the greatest Prince in the world, a servant to the Common weale. But his spirit is loath to acknowledge this, and labours to evade it, by such arguments as the Bishops made use of for their sole power in the Church; but wee know, to be servants of the Church, is no other then to be *for the Church, and not the Church for them equally*; And so he that is a ruler in the Church may be well said to be a servant. In this case the max: of law holds good in Divinity, that a King is *singulis maior, universis minor*, so the Church Officers are *singulis maiores, Ecclesiâ minores.*

V. To Art. 9. *That every member (except women and those under age) hath equall power even with the Ministers themselves in propounding, objecting, answering, and judiciall decreeing, and giving sentence in all matters of the Church whatsoever, whether pertaining to Doctrine or practise.*

Answ. The relator of a story, (especially, when hee pretends and promiseth to write nothing materiall but from his cited Authors) should bee faithfull, and not make bold grosly to vary from the matter, manner, words, scope and all, much lesse to cite Authors that speake against him; but if you reade his Author, *Answ.* to 32 q. p. 44. (the place cited even now) you will finde, *That the Church* (indeede) *hath a right unto the Elders, to manage her owne matters*, but how? according to the rights of the word: did the word ever give people liberty equall with the Minister? doth it not professedly condemne such doing in the Church? and yet this is the only printed Author of our own, that wee can come at, brought to iustifie this absurd Article.

Besides, all men know (that are seen in our wayes) it is against our principles, to have people propound and give sentence in the Churches decrees, these being acts of rule proper to the Officers, as Answ. to 32. q. 57. 58. plainely speakes; and yet he saith, *we hold* the people have *power, yea equall power*, and that with the *Ministers themselves*, even *in all matters of the Church whatsoever.*

Now what will become of his Marg. on this Art. full of exclamation and clamour? *This body* (saith he) *is all an eye, all tongue, all Governours, all teachers, contrary to the Apostles rule*, &c. wherein he fights with a shadow, and we leave him so to doe.

VI. 5. He tells us in Art. 10. and the Marg. *that wee hold all things ought to have a full debate in the presence of the whole society, ere it shall be satisfied.*

Marke his words how large, 1 *All things.* 2 *A full debate.* 3 *It ought to*

be

be so before the whole societie? till all be satisfied: And not one word (we can come at) to prove any of these universalls, whereas (the truth is) we neither hold so, nor practise so; but bring as few matters as possible, into the Assembly, rather labouring to take all things up in private, and then make as short work in publique, (when they must needs come there) as may be.

Now what will become of that long Marginall wherein (so ungroundly) he makes invectives against us and our popular government: (as he is pleased injuriously to terme it) *for making store of worke in our congregations, in hearing, debating, examining all matters till all be satisfied, which will take up (saith he) not an houre or two in a weeke, nor in every day of the weeke, nor scarce all the whole weeke time will suffice to finish businesse in that kind that may fall out; and tire Ministers and People, and breake the Sabbath, by keeping Courts thereon, &c.* And so goes on at random to speake evill of things he knowes not, whereas many of our Churches are oft for many dayes together, and weekes, and moneths also, free from such heapes of matters as he dreames of, and oftentimes from any at all.

But this is his dealing, first he makes an Article of his own, for words, matter, manner, with divers universalls in it, expressly contrary to the truth, and without one word of authority for it, and then drawes his own collections from it, with course language and bitter invectives.

In Art. 11. he deales exceeding ill (at least) in 6. particulars in this one Article. 1. He represents us to the world as a people unsetled, and strangely divided amongst our selves in the way of voting. *Some* (saith he) *affirme, that the major part carries matters; others, that unlesse all doe agree, nothing proceeds; some, that things are not carryed by voyces at all, but by truth and according to God.* VI.

Answer. 1. Let the Reader note well, that our Narrator undertakes to relate the Opinions and practises [*generally*] held by the Churches in *New-England*, as in the title pag. 1. And that the Churches in *New-England* walke none way: And yet here he brings 3. relations, crossing each other of our practises in a very materiall point of Discipline. How can the Churches practise one way and yet goe 3. contrary wayes at once? and how can he truly relate such things as are [generally] held by all the Churches, and yet tells us, how they hold and practise 3. severall things at the same time? For (I confesse) if he had undertaken to declare the practises of some particular men only, and not of Churches; or of some Churches, not of the Churches of *New-England* in generall: Or, if all those Churches were not of one, and the same way, (but he professeth they are, and that without any materiall difference) then his taske were easier to show how they walke in 3. severall waies at once. But now I leave him to untie the knot, and save his credit.

2. Here he pretends to bring Authors to prove that the Churches in *New-*

New-England, (who walke in one and the same way) doe walke in 3. severall waies: Doe his Authors speake true? how then doe we walke in one and the same way without any materiall difference, (as he said when he would make his advantage by it) doe they speake false? why then doth he bring such for the ground of his Narrative, that so abuse him and us? or else doth he mistake their words, or falsifie them? (that is worst of all) In either of which, we must needs innocently suffer.

Here you see his speech verified in his Postscript, *pag.* 50. That *whether the reports he brings be true or false, it's nothing to him.*

3. Now we will scan his Authors quoted, to see whether the blame lies on them or himselfe, the first pretended proofe is Ans. to 32. q. pag. 60, 61. 62.

That the whole body must agree, else nothing can be done. Whereas this Author saith no such thing, but the contrary rather, that is; *That if the whole body accord not at first, but the minor part disagreeth, there are other means partly within themselves, and partly by calling in helps from other Churches to bring matters to an issue.* This plainly sheweth that some things may be done, when all agree not.

The 2. proofe is for this. *That some things are not carryed by voices at all, but by truth and right according to God.* And cites Ans. to 32. q 58 60, who saith to this effect, *that the Word is the only rule whereby all Church votes are carryed; and that matters are not to be carryed* [*only*] that is farre enough from [not at all.] *by multitudes of voices.* For though the word of truth, (we all grant) be the only rule of Church proceedings, yet the meanes of all transactions in our Church must be the lively voices of the Saints; &c. Thus his proofs failing, who must be the father of this untruth, cast upon *New-England*, you may well judge.

4 Note yet further, whereas he quotes Ans. to 32. q. 61. to prove, *that unlesse all agree nothing can be done:* Yet from the same Author, and selfe-same page (in the end of this same 11. Art.) he concludes that though *some disagree, yet matters may be ended, and the rest proceed.* That as he often speakes contrary to himselfe, so he can make his Author doe the same if he list, and can (as ships use to doe at sea) saile contrary waies with the same winde.

5. And yet (which is worse then the other) he would seeme to hide and cloake this dealing of his, and lay the fault upon our variablenesse, and say [sometimes they grant, &c.] as if we were (like the wind) *sometimes* one way, and *sometimes* another, yet all is from the same Author in the same page, at the same time. And often you will find this word [sometime] to be brought in throughout the booke in the same sense (as here,) to make the world beleeve that our judgements and practises are variable, and to defend him selfe from a blow in case he be questioned.

6. If

6. *If a lesser number* (saith he) *dissent from the greater, neither can give satisfaction to them, or will receive it from them, and è contra; but still persist in dissenting, then the major part (after due forbearance and calling in the counsell of neighbouring Churches) admonish — and censure them.*

This (he saith in the Margent) is harsh dealing and uncharitable and foolish, yea destructive, and spares no words that might lay loade upon us. Yea, but it may be his grounds for proofe are sound, and so he may be the more bold to blame us: but he cites onely *Answer* to 32. q. 58. 61. whose words are, *If it appeares that such a dissent from the major part be* [*factiously or partially carried*] — *and after the rest have laboured to convince them by the rule, yet still they continue* [*obstinate*] *they are admonished... &c.*

Now speak *W. R.* is this faire dealing, first to pretend proofes, & leave out the most materiall words, and secondly blame us for harshnesse when there is no cause; here you see is 1 faction, 2 partiality, 3 both those appearing, 4 obstinacy, 5 continuing in obstinacy after meanes used according to rule; all these before the censure of admonition passed; but you in your relation leave out all these words of your Authors, and put in such of your owne as will not so much enforce a censure as these, and then take us (at your pleasure) and make bitter invectives against us in your Margent? If I should have retorted and said, *This dealing of yours is harsh, uncharitable, foolish, destructive, &c.* it would have troubled you: (yet you are but a single person, those whom you reproach are whole Churches, many Churches of Saints) but wee have learned what the Apostle saith, 1 *Pet.* 2. 23. and to forbeare. This Article being thus laid prostrate, there is nothing at all in his Marginal extraction worth answer.

He blames us Art. 12. *That we deny unto the Church all power to make any particular rules or lawes in things indifferent (conducing to the better Government of her selfe and more orderly and edifying performance of Gods worship) standing to the generall rules of Scripture, &c.* VII.

1. He hath falsified his printed Authors alledged for this Art. *Ans.* to 32. q. 66. *Col. Cap.* 7. where is not a syllable of things *indifferent*, for whereas they indeede denie Churches power to make lawes about Church Government, &c. their words & meaning are expressed, it is only in such matters where the Scripture hath made lawes already, and therefore they say, *The Churches have no power to make lawes, but to observe those lawes which Christ hath given and commanded, and doe alleadge, Mat.* 28. 20. *Deut.* 33. 3. *Iohn* 10. 27. None (I hope) can thinke this a thing indifferent for us to add lawes to Christ his owne lawes, and this is all they say. *Answ.*

2. If you meane [*by making of lawes*] inferring of plaine and necessary conclusions from their proper grounds in Scripture, wee grant a power in a Church so to doe: yet so, as they shall not be binding, unlesse the evi- III.

dence of the consequence be made appeare, as Rom. 14. 5. 22. 23. But if [by making of lawes] you meane a drawing of conclusions from more Principles, such as the Bishops were wont to doe. [All things must bee decently done and in order,] therefore a Surplice, a Crosse in Baptisme a bowing at the Altar, &c. we deny it, as an inlet of all humane inventions.

Many of the Marginalls of this 6 Chap. are already answered, some few remaine, as

I. *Who would not long to be churched seeing they are indued with such a vast power? this is a sweet morsell, no marvell peoples teeth so water after it, &c.* p. 23.

W. I can tell you who longs not for Churching, it is *W. R.* himselfe, who with heart, hand, and pen thus opposeth it; but why doe not his teeth also water after it? It is I suppose becausse the people have a voyce in Church matters, and Ministers cannot carrie all. 2 Why doe you thinke *W. R.* that peoples teeth should so much water after this way? seeing they are under many watchfull eyes, a strict Covenant, disgraces in the world, sharpe censures (and overharsh too if all you say be true) therefore, why should they so much desire these waies thinke you (they being so crosse to corruption that would have elbowroom) unlesse they did see and feele our beauty and warmth of Christ in them? This is the true and reall cause.

II. *The Word (saith he) and the Sacraments should be both setled on the Ministry.* [*Goe preach and baptize, &c.*] *Why doe wee separate them?* pag. 23.

swer. To Preach by Office (which is the preaching that Christ there gives in commission to his Disciples being called to be Apostles) is proper only to Ministers, who are to waite upon teaching, Rom. 12. 7. and this preaching and the administration of the Sacraments are ever joyned together in the same person. But there is a preaching in a large sense, *i.e* sometimes to apply a word of instruction, exhortation, consolation, if necessity shall require, according to their talent, being invited thereunto, and this may be common to other godly and able Christians, though not called into Office, as Act. 8. 1. 4. where *the whole Church* (except the Apostles) were scattered by persecution, and they that were so scattered (without distinction of Ministers or people) went to and fro preaching, therefore others (besides Ministers) in some case may preach the word, if you take [preach] in a larger sense.

III. 3. For the two instances hee brings p. 24. *of Peoples unabilitie of judging, electing, voting, &c. from Holland and Boston, &c.*

sw. 1. The best people on earth may have their houre of temptation; and personall failings doe not hinder the goodnesse or truth of the rule.

2. What Church in the world hath not possibly, first or last, given or else may give strange instances of humane frailty: but still you count their way good.

3. Even

3. Even those Churches you mention were able at other times, both before and since, to act as becomes prudent and godly men, though possibly at that time they might shew themselves to be but men.

4. These persons recovered out of their error, and lay not in it: you should have mentioned this as well as that.

If the Officers (through scruple of conscience, perhaps) refuse to act according to their (i. e. the peoples) minde, they will (& they hold they may) call forth any other member to do, and enable him with power to doe all that their Officers should have done, except Sacraments. IV.

Answ. A most unjust and slanderous report, and without any word of proofe; so now we must father it upon him, and doe here require him to prove it, for almost every word is an aggravation: but I study brevity, and mentioned this before Art. 9.

They complaine in print, that their Ministers are slighted amongst them, yea trampled upon by some. And mentions for this *Cot. on a vial.* p. 24. of whose words judge, and you shall not finde one word to warrant him. V.

All his invectives against us on the 11. Article Marg. *for extorting a consent from such as dissent from us*, is exceeding slaunderous, and not a word true, nor any tittle of proofe, for none are ever admonished for dissenting, but for faction and obstinacy, as his Authors speake, as was said before. VI.

Let me heare tell the Reader, there are sundry unsound and uncouth passages in this chap. (as indeede through the whole booke) which for brevity, I am forced to passe by, and (indeede) not worth my time. I intreate thee to take all his sayings with a graine of salt: knowing from what spirit they proceede.

Answer to CHAP. VII.

IN this 1. *Art.* there are three things that will be found too light. I.

1. He affirmes, we say, *all men are bound to be setled members of a particular Church.*

Answ. Yet in his Margent, he affirmes, *we allow some to bee admitted transient members for a time only.* Now to be [*setled*] and yet (*transient*) are termes contradictory, and how the Churches of *New-England* (for they are still the subject of this discourse) can binde all their members to bee [setled,] and yet allow some to bee transient. I know not; Hee must grant either a contradiction in his owne words, or prove one in our practise.

2. He affirmes we say, *That whosoever is not a member of such a Church as is before described* (*i. e.* A *New-England* Church) *is for the time without the visible Church of Christ*, and quotes *Anf.* to 32 q. pag. 11.

Answer. That Author is abused, for hee saith not, that non-members of such a Church

Church, as you described, *i.e.* of a *N. E.* Church, are without the visible
nsw. to 32. q. Church, but *that if men be not members of* [*some particular Church or other*]
38. *they — may* [*in some respect*] *be said to bee without the power and priviledges of the visible Church*: (as the Answ. to 9. *pos.* p. 62. to which this Author points makes it evident.) Now *W. R.* I hope knowes we hold there are other particular congregations both in England and else where, (besides our owne) that are true Churches of Christ; of any of which, if they be members, it is sufficient to make them within the visible Church of Christ. Yet see, how against our expressed judgements, plaine words, and the minde of his Authors, hee would make us odious, by laying such a grosse tenent to our charge.

3. *That whosoever doe not become settled members of our Churches, are accounted despisers, &c. yea wicked and prophane.*

nswer. Hee againe rowles the same unhappy stone he did once before, cap. 3. art. 12. but you will say, sure, his proofes are strong which make him bold to assert this, (now) the second time: Therefore I increase the Reader but to review his proofs which I will relate *verbatim*. *Answ. to 9. Pos.* 62. 's one of them he brings (which saith thus,) *We maintaine communion with all* [*godly persons,*] *though they be not in Church fellowship with us*: and *Idem*, p. 69. *To be without Church fellowship is the case of some beleevers*, and *Ans. to 32. q.* 11. is (another of his quoted Authors, whose words are these,) *Some Christians that are not without Christ, yet are not within any particular Church.*

☞ These are the Authors and pages he brings to prove the cleane contrary, *i. e.* that we account all non-members, wicked, and prophane men, and yet they directly say, *Some such are godly persons, beleevers in Christ, &c.*

Yea, he hath an expression (as he layes it downe) exceeding grosse, which is this; *That whosoever doth not become a settled member (if possibly he can) sinneth*; *And* (marke what followeth) [*whether he can or no*] — *he is accounted — prophane and wicked.* He would make us up for the most absurd men that ever lived; that *whether men can (possibly)* (for so his words is) *joine Church fellowship or no, he is counted a prophane man*: But the blemish will, and must needs fall upon himselfe.

II. To Marg. of 8. Art. hee propounds 5 questions concerning transient members.

1. *Q. If it be very inconvenient and discommodious to joyne at present, may they not delay a while?*

He answereth, we say [no.] but the place to which he points (*Ans.* to 32. quest. p. 38.) saith not so, but thus. *A man is alwaies bound to joine himselfe to some Church or other, if possibly he can.* Now doth not *W. R.* know there is [a possibility of convenience] which the Answer must needs meane? for it's a constant and allowed course in *New-England* for more to forbeare

joyning

joyning to any Church for a time, after they come thither, meerly to avoyd discommodious inconveniencies, which over hasty joyning sometimes puts men upon.

2. Quest. *Why doe we not give the same liberty to all to be transient Members, as we doe to some?*

Ans. Because all are not so free to abide with this or that Church, where they joyne at present, (as others are) by reason of some strong desires and pre-ingagements of joyning with some other congregation, which at present they cannot remove unto, or else the other (as yet,) not entred into Church-fellowship, and so unfit to receive them at present.

3. Quest. *How doth this agree with the tenour of the Covenant, that limits no time?*

Ans. There may be, (and is) such a clause put into the Covenant of a transient member, *viz.* [during their abode with that congregation.]

Quest. 4. *How doth this agree with the sense of the Covenant, that binds them to aske counsell of the Church in case of removeall?*

Ans. I know not what informations he hath received. I should know our practise as well as *W. R.* (after my 10. yeers experience, having beene present, at very many Church-gatherings) but I never heard (or heard of) such a clause put into any Covenant, and yet three times in his booke he mentions this: Let him learne hereafter: 1. to be slow in beleeving informations, 2. slower to print them to the world, 3. ready to retract them, if it be done already.

Hosaith, Art. 5. *That if the examiners conceive a man not fit to enter into Church fellowship, then he is there staid, without any further proceedings,* III.

He should have added [only for the present] else he leaves the Reader to conceive that such a person is staid from Church fellowship for ever, which himselfe knowes to be untrue, as appeares by his own words, in the 7. Art. where he saith, *that such a Person is staid only for a time, whiles all things are cleared.*

To his Margent Art. 7. *That if the party be a Woman, or weake, who is to be admitted, then their examination are taken more privately.* IIII. *Answer.*

Is not this contradictory to what he said, Chap. 3, Art. 6. *That the declaration of their knowledge and grace must be made in publique, before all the Church though never so many.* Now to presse all to make their declaration before the whole Assembly, & yet to accept of some weaker ones doing of it, more privatly (which indeed is the truth) are a contradiction.

Here he makes two objections. 1. *Object.*

How shall the Church know the fitnesse of such, (*i. e.* as are examined in private?) *Answ.*

By the testimony of such godly men whom they betrust with their triall; who (though they have not absolute power to determine yet) making

king such report to the Church as they accept, the Church proceeds to admit them.

ject. *Why is this favour shewen to some, not to others, is not this to be partiall? contrary to* 1 *Tim.* 5. 21.

Answ. Partiality is to respect the Person, not the cause, here the cause is respected not the Person, or the Person for the cause: Some being more weake, and fearfull, we rather tender, (as *Jacob* would not overdrive the feabler sort of Ewes and lambes) lest they should miscarry.

V. Art. 9. He reports, *That infants of parents that are no members are accounted to be without the visible Church, and in the same estate with the Children of Turkes and Heathens, &c.* and writes in the Margent, *cold comfort to Christian Parents, and cold charity to their Infants.*

nsw. 1. It were cold comfort indeed, if that he said were true, but (blessed be God) it is not so. For though such infants be not as yet Members of this or that particular Church there, yet (he knowes) we account them (and their Parents) Members of the visible Churches of *England*, witnesse our writings in print, discourse of Covenant *pag.* 36. &c. Therefore he much forgets himselfe, to say, *we account them to be without the visible Church.*

2. To say, we esteeme them as Children of Turkes and Heathens, is a most uncharitable and groundlesse censure, unworthy of his penne or our practise, to which we answered before. The Lord forgive him such hard speeches.

For his quotations (*Ans.* to 32. *q.* 20. 21. and *Ans.* to 9. *Pos.* 61. 63) if they will afford him the least word or show for either of these particulars, I'le take the blame for ever, let any please to peruse them.

But he forgets the law in *Israel* of amercing and striping the man that brings an ill report upon a Virgin of *Israel*, I must mind him of it.

Answer to CHAP. VIII.

This chapter is spent (especially the Margent) in invectives against the strictnesse of our Church Covenant, that restrains men, that they cannot have elbow roome, and be at loose end when they please. I will gather the strength of all he speakes in this chapter into some objections, and very briefly answer them.

Object. *A member* (saith he) *cannot remove from a Church without our consent, sought and obtained.* Art. 1.

ns. It crosseth the nature of all Covenants in the world, for to dissolve the Covenant without the consent of the other: And shall this engagement, so solemne, so sacred, so deliberate, be loosed at pleasure, (by a mans removall

moval whē & whither he pleaseth & it may be also not without apparant sin without acquainting the *Church* withal, & getting approbation frō thē?

The Church may be partiall in their own cause, may not some of other Churches be consulted withall, rather then this? pag. 32. Marg. 2. Object.

Shall a man infringe this Covenant, deprive the Church of her propet right, and lay her under blame of partiality upon a meere supposall, *that the Church may be partiall*? Let this Church be [first] consulted withall, rather then any other, (and good reason too,) for the Covenant is made with her; and if it appeare she is (indeed) partiall, then let the counsell of other Churches and Ministers be called in, which was never yet denied any Member, and I hope never will be. Answ.

But what need a man consult with the whole Church? what if his reasons be secret, &c. 3. Object.

The Covenant being made with the whole, (reason speakes) the whole ought to untie the knot. But if there be some case extraordinary, where the grounds of removall may not safely be divulged to all, as I confesse it's possible so to happen, let the partie but intimate so much to the Church, and desire that some two or three faithfull men be intrusted, and what hinders? Answ.

If the Church covenant binds so fast, then (as the Disciples said of marriage) it is not good to touch this covenant. pag. 32. Ob. 4.

1. A gracious spirit counts it no bondage but freedome, to be constantly under the sweet yoake of Christ in Gospell duties: and such and no other are the particulars of our Covenant; ah, let none be weary of this but all be as the servant in the Law, that might have gone out free, yet (loving his Master well) chose rather to abide with him for ever. Answ. Ex. 21. 5. 6

2. Yet if any man be desirous, and stedfastly bent to depart, the Church never holds him against his will, though she sees little or no weight in his reasons, and I hope it is *not the case of marriage, so easily to be dissolved.*

But if the Church be not satisfied with his reasons, he goes away tacitely accused, slandered, yea virtually cast out and curst. 5. Object.

Sure I am, *this is accusing, slanderous, and curst language*: not fit for a sober & grave man, by that law in Israel, *W. R.* would goe neere to be amerced and striped *for this defamation*. What would he have them doe when they cannot be satisfied with the grounds of his departure? must they needs act against light and conscience, and say *they are satisfied*, when they are not, especially when they see a brother (haply) running into evill, or danger, by such a removall? All they can doe, is (through indulgence) to suspend their vote and leave him to his own liberty. And yet they will neither *accuse or slander him*, much lesse *curse him or cast him out*: These are words fit for nothing but retractation, and repentance. Anſ. Deut. 22. 19.

If men be once entred into covenant, be it so rivetted into it that he can hardly 6. Objct.

ever get out of it, but must continue in it, though perhaps against his conscience. Ibid.

Answ. To my best remembrance, I never heard of, or knew any godly Church-member that repented of this Church-way, & desired (upon that ground) to make a retreate.

2. If any should be convinced in his conscience (as you say) that there is sin in it, and should (after all meanes of information used) solemnely profes and make it appeare ingenuously, that he dareth not in conscience proceed on in those waies; I know no Church that will detaine him?

Object. 7. How shall this man, thus dismissed without the Churches approbation and Letters of recommendation be received into any other Church?

Answer. How many lines doth he spend (to no purpose) about untying this knot? and when he cannot unloose it, (for that he knows not our practises there) he falls out extreamely with us, and our way as harsh and rigid.

I have read of *Harpia* (a lame woman in *Seneca*) who still complained of the roughnesse of the way that made her limpe, but saw not her owne lamenesse to bee the cause. I will not stand to make application, but unloose his knot, by telling him; Though a Church cannot see cause enough to commend such a person as we speake of, to another Church, for *his Departure* from them, as being not cleare in it themselves, yet (hee being a godly man, and of a good conversation in the generall) they may and doe use to commend him for his godlinesse, &c. and in prudence, conceale any supposed error, or infirmity in his departure from them: And upon such a testimony he is received, and so needs not bee left as an Heathen.

Answer to CHAP. IX.

I. THe first thing meets us is a contradiction, for here he saith, in plaine termes, *That wee in New-England conceive men may be true Christians, whether they be in Church estate or no.* But chap. 7. Art. 1. he affirmed absolutely, *that whosoever is not a settled member of a particular Church is accounted by us prophane and wicked.*

Answer. How is it possible, that both these parts should be true? can *New-England* Churches count the same men, at the same time, to be *true Christians*, and yet *prophane and wicked?* See what a story this must needes be, that is thus full of contradictions to it selfe, and in no small and triviall things, but in the greatest points of our Church Discipline.

II. He saith againe Art. 4, 5: That *we say, that the Sacraments and some other Church Ordinances are to be administred, and doe belong only to the members of the same Church, and not to the members of any other Churches.*

Hee

Hee ſpeakes flatly contrary to this, cap. 10. Art. 1. in theſe words, *We grant that ſeverall Churches have a communion amongſt themſelves... in ſome Church-ordinances, as Sacraments*: how can both be true? *They hold, and they hold not; They do, & they do not*: ſpeaking ſtill of the Churches of *New England* generally without the leaſt reſtraint or diſtinction; yea as if hee had ſtudied to make his contradiction full, he expreſly and in both parts of it mentioneth the Sacraments; *that wee deny communion, in ſpeciall, in* [*Sacraments*] *and we grant a communion, in ſpeciall, in the* [*Sacraments*:] and againe, *this communion* (ſaith he) *is neither betwixt Miniſters nor members, and this communion is both betwixt Miniſters and members*. And both of them within a leafe one of the other, in his booke. *Anſw.*

W. R. himſelfe muſt of neceſſity grant one of theſe three things; either, 1. a manifeſt contradiction by himſelfe in a maine point in his ſtory. Or 2. that his Authors or intelligencers have written or ſpoken contrary concerning our way. And ſo a man would thinke hee hath little ground (in conſcience) to build his Narration upon their teſtimony. Or thirdly, that hath abuſed them at his pleaſure, and warped their words to what ſenſe he liſt, all which are very ill in a Narrator.

Furthermore, I here confidently avouch, and ſhall make it good; that thoſe printed writers by him cited, are all conſiſtent to themſelves in this point of adminiſtration of Sacraments to members of other Churches, and not one of them croſſing another or himſelf. Therefore I muſt againe (but with griefe of heart to lay ſuch load on a brother) lay this dealing upon him, in the ſight of all that have beene miſled by his Narration.

Nay, I will ſay more; If I can not prove plainly that theſe Authors cited doe not only not juſtifie him, but write point-blanck againſt him, I will beare the blame. *vid. Anſ. 9. Poſ. 62. We doe not* (ſay they) *appropriate the ſeales only to members of our own Church, excluding all other Churches of Chriſt.* and *Cot. Cat. p. 7. The ſupper* (ſaith he) *is diſpenced to the fait hfull of the ſame body, or recommended to them by a like body*, and *Anſ.* to 9. *Poſ.* 78. in theſe words. *The members of other Churches doe mutually communicate at each others Churches, even as often as Gods providence leades them, and they deſire it.*

Laſtly, if all this be not enough to open his abuſing us & the truth; I will go further to ſhew you, that he ſtill cites the very ſame Author to prove both parts of this contradiction; (and this is no new thing, but frequent with him.) For in cap. 9. Art. 1. he cites *Anſ.* to 9. *Poſ.* 62. to prove we hold communion with other Churches and their members: and alſo cap. 10. 1. he cites the ſame Author and page for one Churches communion with another in the Sacraments. But herein Art. 5. when hee would prove the contrary, *i. e. that we hold no communion with other Church members in the Sacraments*: he brings the ſelfe ſame Author and page for that end, *i.e. Anſ.* to 9. *Poſ.* pag. 62, &c.

And thus he doth not with that mentioned one Author only, but serves the rest in like manner, as *Ans.* to 32. q. *Apol. R. Mt.* to *E. B.* must all come in to avouch both parts of his contradiction; the one in chap. 10. 1. for communion; the other in Art. 4. 5. of this 9. chap. against Communion. And this he doth not this once onely, but in other places in this booke (as we have shewed; and shall againe) and yet these Authors give him no occasion thereto, but speake all the selfe same thing plainely, and constantly without any variation.

III. He saith, Art. 7. *We hold that a man that is sui juris, may not lawfully stand a member of such a Church in which he cannot enioy all Gods ordinances, or where any corruption is suffered, but if he be ioyned to it, he must separate from it.*

Answer. The Narratour knowes in his owne conscience that this is not spoken (by his cited Author) of our Churches in *New-England*, but of the Parish Churches in *Old-England*; nor of all the Churches in *Old-England*, but of such onely, where a man either cannot enjoy some ordinances of God; or else live there without sinfull conformity: (for this was written by his Author in the time of the Bishops reigne.)

2. He alters the Authors words and meaning, and that grossely, for hee saith, we hold *a man must not continue in such a* (*Church where any corruption is* [*suffered unreformed.*] But his Author saith, *in such parish assemblies where a man shall and must* (himselfe) *conforme to those corruptions, there his standing is unlawfull. Ans.* to 32. q. 32. So hee leaves out the very nerves and strength of the place which is the ground of our both with drawing, i.e. a necessity of sinning.

IV. You find him againe strongly pleading for imposed formes of Prayer & Leiturgies. Art. 8. with it's Marg. This is the fourth time he hath harped on this string; 1. he was for Overtures, 2. for a kinde of *N. E.* Primer in admissions of members, 3. for booke prayers, 4. now, (and that more fully then before) for [*imposed*] prayers and set Leiturgies: whither he will goe next, I know not. If God had not pittifully left him to himselfe in this Narration, (I am confident) he would not have come thus farre as to have used such arguments as these, that *if we in New-England allow set formes of Psalmes, and of blessings of the people, and formes of Church-covenants, and of Catechising, &c. Why not as well set formes of prayers imposed?* But to this having answered before, I leave him to the Father of truth to shew him his error.

Answer to Chap. X.

I. Art. 1. he saith (and that truely,) *Wee grant that severall Churches have a communion amongst themselves, whereby they doe and may partake with each other in the Sacraments.*

Of

Of the contradiction betweene this and and chap. 9. Art. 4 5. it is spoken to already. *Answ.*

Only here note 1 the fulnes of affirmation (in this Art.) for our communion with other Churches in the Sacrament; we have (saith he) *a communion* amongst our selves. 2 *in the Sacraments*, (in speciall,) 3 with *severall Churches*, 4 we *do and may* partake. 5 *each with other*, 6 *mutually*, 7 and this both betwixt *Ministers and people*, & 8 we not only practise this, but *grant* it may be so; And yet when he comes to speake of the other part of the contradiction (*i. e.* that we have no communion in the Sacraments) (as if he studied to crosse himself) he is as full in his deniall of it. *vid.* cap 9. Art 4 5.

2. Note how thicke his sayings and unsayings fall in. Cap. 9. Art. 1. He affirmes, *we hold Communion with other Churches and Church members*, and then presently in 4. 5. Art. of the very same chap. he expresly denies, *that we hold any such communion*: Then againe in the very next chap. (the 10.) Art. 1. he saith, as full as can be, *that we hold communion mutually with other Churches*; and by and by in chap. 12. 8. as fully and expressely denies againe that we hold any such thing. The man being an able and judicious man in other things, it is more remarkable, he should be thus extreamely left to confound himselfe, while he sought to confound our poore innocent Churches. Let any carefully observe in all these things mentioned, whether I have not dealt candidly with him, or no.

II. Art. 2. He reports. 1 *That one Church may give power to another over any of her members for excommunication.* 2 *That the Minister of one Church may convey power to the Ministers of another for the administration of the Sacraments.*

Answer. Neither of both which doe wee hold or practise. The onely Author cited (that we can come at is *Cot. Cat.* p. 7. whose words are these. *The Supper is dispenced by the Minister to the faithfull of the same Church, or to such as are commended to them by a like body*: See if here be one tittle to bear him out.

Yet from these assertions (which he saith) we hold, he flings rebukes upon us in his comments upon his owne Text. p. 37. whereas indeede wee might reprove his, 1 misreporting, 2 abusing his Author, 3 reproving us without cause.

III. *Without letters of recommendation from one Church and Minister to another, it is unlawfull* (saith he Art. 3.) *in any case, to administer any Church ordinance to any Church member but their owne upon any pretence whatsoever.*

Answ. 1. Here is neither truth nor proofe to be seene.

2. Letters of recommendation for publique participation, are not sent from one Minister to another, but from a Church to a Church.

3. We hold it not unlawfull (but doe often practise) to receive other members to communion with us without letters; especially if they bee knowne to any of our Church, else such letters are desireable; but hee saith

faith, *We doe it not in any case, upon any pretence whatsoever,* which is utterly false and without proofe.

IIII. He tells us, *That wee are so strait-laced, that if a company of godly people should sit neere us (where our power reacheth) differing from us only in some points of Church-Government, they should not onely not be owned as a sister Church, but should be in danger of severe punishment by our Magistrate.*

Answ. 1. If you weigh well this accusation of us in all the particulars, it is very harsh and sore, and here is no proofe but *H. W.* who this should be (I professe) I cannot tell, unlesse some malignant or back-friend amongst us there, or whether such a thing were ever written in these words and sense, I know not; and if it be certainly so written, and from a godly man, yet it is but one single witnesse, and I am forbidden (and so are all others) 1 *Tim.* 5. 19. to receive an accusation against one Elder, (much more against all the Elders and Churches in *New-England* without two or three witnesses: therefore we dare not beleeve it.

2. To this very point in hand, the *Answ.* to 32. 9. p. 82, 83. speakes fully and fairely, which *W. R.* well knowing, (for it was written to himselfe amongst others,) deales not candidly to conceale that Answer of a printed booke from known Authors of credit in *New-England*, because it is faire and loving (for what other ground could hee have?) and bring in the Answer of *H. W.* (a man we know not) which is harsh and distastfull; how can the concealing of that, and relating of this seeme ingenuous, or friendly to us, or the truth?

Answer to CHAP. XI.

HE makes report of a groundlesse course (as he calles it) in the Church at *Cambridge* in *New-England*, where (saith he) *the people use to meet together privately, each one to hold forth the work of grace in his or her soule, from the first conversion to that day, so that their Pastour might know their growth in grace. And,* (saith also) *that* (*as some report*) *the end of this meeting was to cast out by excommunication, non-proficients.*

Anſ. With what face can any godly man call such meetings of the Saints, for such an holy end (as to try their growth in grace) *a groundlesse meeting*, and so cast dirt upon it? for he makes proofe of no other end besides that.

2. Did these godly people ever cast any out of the Church there, meerely for non-proficiency?

3. He hath still forgotten that rule in 1 *Tim.* 5. 19. that requires *two or three witnesses* to bee brought forth, &c. who yet proceeds upon (I know not what) relations to beleeve and report, yea and print to the view of the world, what (in his opinion) may detract from a Reverend Elder, and a godly Church also,

No

No marvell, he calls his Book [a poore pamphlet,] truly it is so indeed, if all things we have discovered in it be well weighed; and it will appeare yet pooter (before we have done) to any candid reader. It is our humble suit to heaven, that God will discover to himselfe the weakenes and error of his dealings herein, for the humbling of his spirit.

Answer to CHAP. XII.

A Short Answer might serve to this long Chapter, for most of it (as also of the two next) is but a repetition of things spoken once or twice, (some of them) thrice before, and answered to already. He said in the beginning of his preface *he wanted not Workes*, but (it seemes) now towards the end of his booke, he is more at leasure, (and so hee thinkes his reader is also,) else why he should so double & treble the very same things (*totidem verbis*) I know not, unlesse happily to make a deeper impression of his owne mistakes in his reader.

In Art. 1, he tells us, *that after a Church is gathered, it is often some yeares before she addresseth her selfe to the calling of Officers.* I.

Whereas it is our usuall and constant course (as hath beene said) not to gather any Church, untill they have one amongst themselves, fit for a Minister, whom with all speede they call into Office, and account themselves a lame and imperfect body till that be effected. *Ans.*

In his Marg. on that Art. he saith *hee is told to his comfort, that many that were counted good Ministers in* Old-England, *are there layed aside, because they aime at men of speciall parts.* II.

1. We desire proofe for this aspersion unjustly cast on us, or else we shall still father it upon himselfe, as *Answ.*

2. That good Ministers are laid aside there, 2. many good Ministers, 3. on this ground, because they aime at men of special abilities And whereas he saith, *he was told so*, that is not sufficient: Let him produce his Authors, or it must lie on him.

I wonder he counts it strange (in Art. 3.) *that we should desire to have a man to be a Member before he be an Officer.* III.

Is it not a thing most naturall for a body to imploy it's own Members? *Answ.*
2. Is not the mutuall interest in each other the stronger tye? Doe not all bodies and societies in the world, the very same? Was ever any man of another corporation, elected Sheriffe, Major, or into any speciall office in London, unlesse he were first seasoned with this same salt (as he saith) of Membership of the same body?

To the 4 Art. *of ordaining Ministers by private men.* IV.
Let him not wonder at this, for *Numb.* 8. 10. he may see, that though *Answer.* the

the Levites were Church Officers, and the Children of *Israel* were not yet the Children of *Israel* did lay their hands upon the *Levites*; And though all the Children of *Israel* could not doe this, yet some principall ones did it in stead of the rest. So it may be lawfull in some case to doe the like. 2. If people have a power of election of Officers, (which is the greater) then why may they not ordaine them (which is the lesse) unto the office which before they elected them to? But I referre the Reader to see more of this, in Mr. *Mathers* late answer to Mr. *Herle*, pag. 45.

V. To the 5. Art. where he saith, *We hold the imposition of hands of the Presbyterie, but a meere formality.*

nswer. Doth he judge all the Churches and Ministers of Christ, there, so devoyd of Religion, reason or the light of common sense, as to account a venerable Ordinance of God [a meere formality?]

But that you may see whether he deals well with us or no, *vid.* Ans. to 34. q. p. 67. where its expresly said, *That though the essence of a Ministers call consists in Election, yet we looke at ordination by imposition of hands, necessary by divine institution*] can he with any shew of reason explicate a thing [necessary by divine institution] by [a meere formality,] is this right commenting upon the text? And note also that this very place cited is one proofe he brings for this Article, but whether for him or directly against him, I pray judge.

For the other printed proofe (discourse of Covenant, p. 23.) I confidently affirme there is not any one word, or the least shew for such an expression, let the Reader prove whether I wrong him or no, but only *that people have power to choose their own Officers.*

Let him not delude the world by thwacking quotations on his Articles, when it's an usuall thing that some of them speake nothing for him, others directly against him.

VI. In Margent of 5. Art. he saith, *That all that are elected by the people to preach (which is one chiefe duty of the Pastour) and doe receive by compact the dues by law to the Pastour, should be their Pastour.*

Ans. Though preaching by a Pastour called into office, be one of the principall workes of his office, yet all preaching is not a Pastorall worke, as *Act.* 8. 4. The scattered Church, without respect to an office, are said to [preach] the word every where. Now if a man be called by a congregation, to exercise his gift in this worke of preaching only, and not to be a Pastour to them: should he not exceed the bounds of his call, if he should be (as *W. R.* would have him) a Pastour to that people? And by this reason also he condemnes all Lecturers (and I suppose himselfe in so doing) (for they are called to preach, yet no man lookes on them) or they on themselves, as Pastours of that place, where they so exercise. As for the dues he receives for his preaching, whether more or lesse, by a compact or otherwise

otherwise, whether of the same kind with the Pastour or not) is not materiall, for it's his call, not his wages, makes him a Pastour or no Pastour.

In the Marg. of the 6. Art. he saith, *that one Pastour or Teacher alone, or one private man layes on his hands.* VII.

It hath neither proofe nor truth, but is against our judgements and practise, and so I leave him to looke over such ungrounded, and loose speeches cast upon our way. *Answ.*

Art. 7. *That in our practise we usually confound the Pastours & Teachers office, the Pastour and Teacher equally teaching, and applying the word without any difference.* VIII.

This hath no more truth then the other, for it is both our professed judgements and constant practise, that as the teacher is chosen, whose proper gift is aptnesse to teach, so after hee is chosen, hee bends himselfe that way, and waites upon teaching, so the Pastor upon exhotting, as *Rom.* 12. 7, 8. Though in such congregations where there is but one, hee labours to improve his talent both waies, for the present necessity till that defect be supplyed. (as good reason he hath so to doe.) And for his proofe, (see how punctuall he is) he turnes us to Mr. *Cot.* Sermons on the *Revel.* and other Texts. Would he have us looke over all Master *Cot.* Sermons, which may be at least 500. or 1000 pages, to find his proofes, and when we have done, we shall be just where we were, for Mr. *Cot.* (we know) is expressly contrary to him, and for that we turne him not to all his Sermons as he doth us, but to one certaine place in his *Cat.* p. 2. whose words are these; *The Pastors speciall worke is to attend upon exhortation; The Teacher on Doctrine*: and his owne, and others practises there run accordingly. *Answer.*

In the Marg. to this Article he saith, *That some of us doe question the Communion of Churches as a thing overthrowing some of our principles, & that others, (to uphold it) have invented a power in one Minister to translate his owne power to another Minister to administer the seales and censures to any of their members.* IX.

Both these are ungrounded, unproved expressions, and but repealed by him, now answered before by us; therefore I passe them by. *Answ.*

As for that Inference he seemes to draw *that every Ministeriall act without power*, and irregularly *done it seemes voyd, and so millions of persons unbaptised to this day.* X.

This might have beene spared, for that maxim in law well approved of by Divines in this case (*quod fieri non debuit factum valet*) holds good here. I know no grounds that *Zipporah* had to have circumcised her sonne (for it was proper to the man, as Gen. 17. 9. 23.) yet being done, it was not void or null, & though a Priest (popishly affected) should baptise a child with many invented superstitions, the child is not looked on as unbaptised *Answ.*

To Art. 9. he saith, wee hold, *All other acts besides administration of the Sacraments are common to members, as well as to Ministers.* XI.

Ans. 1. It is not true, (we hold no such thing.)

2. The

2. The proofe hee brings no whit reacheth it.

3. It is directly against his owne Authors, he builds upon Answer to 32. q. p. 57. *The calling* (saith he) *of Assemblies, and dismissing them, preaching the word and prayer, administring the seales, permitting to speake in the Assembly, enjoyning silence, voting of matters, pronouncing of censures, &c. These are alls which the Presbyters may doe and no other members.*

4. It is contrary to himselfe, chap. 6. Art. 8. where he sets downe the severall acts which he himselfe saith we ascribe unto our Officers.

XII. Art. 10. He saith, *That if a Minister who layes downe his ministry upon just grounds he is now become as a meere private man.*

Answ. Whereas hee is looked on and reverenced as a worthy instrument of Christ, a man of gifts & parts, one that hath honored God in his house, and may doe it againe, and in meane time is imployed in dispensing his gifts, &c. is this to bee as a [*meere private man*;] but hee is not able to speake without disparaging.

XIII. To Art. 12. *That the end of our Ministry is onely the building up of men already converted, (as supposing our members are all reall saints already,) nor are we bound by our Office to attend to conversion of soules, and if any bee converted by us, it is accidentall.*

Answer. He strangly forgets himselfe, for 1 we say not that all our members are certainely reall Saints, but only visibly, so there may be some hypocrits amongst them probably, that may neede conversion, and therefore by our Office we are to attend that worke as farre as the needs of the flocke shall appeare. 2 The children of our members (the charge of whom our Ministers undertake, even by vertue of their Offices) are not yet, haply, converted, and he is bound to fulfill his Office towards them.

As for the Author cited to prove this Art. (*Answ.* to 32. q. 80. 81.) he affords him not one title towards it; therefore I looke upon this Art. as a devised thing of his own, as a great part of his booke is.)

XIII. From this Art. thus mistaken, he drawes many invective conclusions against us, in a long Marg. but to no purpose at all, for the ground sincking, the bulding falls; and thus he shootes at his owne shadow.

So still he keepes his old custome, 1 frames a false Art. of his own, (as if it were ours;) 2 Then pretends a proofe, which is none; 3 Then falls out with us for holding such absurdities; 4 Lastly drawes his inferences from his owne premisses: this is his dealing all along his booke.

And then, (to make all up) he fall a taxing *some brethren of that way here*, for two things, 1 *for neglecting to build up their owne Churches at home*; whereas he should first have proved, that they have not a call to be absent for a time for their Churches good, and with their consent.

2. *For labouring to convert others here, not so much to grieve* (saith he) *us to our Church-Covenant.* But let our owne Sermons preached (not in corners, but)

but) in the face of thousands testifie for us before God and men what the scope of our preaching hath beene and is.

He tell us Art. 14. First, *That the Ministers in New-England are maintained by the Peoples voluntary contribution.* 2. *That this is cast in according to their weekly gaines,* 3 *and distributed to them according as the Deacons thinke fit.* XV.

Here are three particulars affirmed; and hardly any one of them true: for 1 this weekly contribution is properly intended for the poore according to 1 *Cor.* 16. 1. Yet so as (if there be much given in.) Some Churches doe (though others do not) appoint the overplus [*towards*] the Ministers maintenance, 2 This is not given in by the people, *according to their weekly gaines,* (for that is an addition of his owne) but *as God hath blest them with an estate in the generall*, for suppose a member that is rich, though he hath not gained but lost the weeke last past, yet he contributes on the Lords day following; 3 nor is this dispensed to the Ministers (in those Churches where any part of it is so given) though by the hands of the Deacons yet not (for proportion) as they please, for this were to set the Deacons above the Pastour and Teacher) but by the Church, who usually twice in the yeare or oftner, doe meete to consult and determine of the summe to be allowed for that yeere to their Ministers, and to raise it, either from the Churches treasurie (so much of it as there is to be had,) or by a contribution to be then made on purpose. *Ans.*

8. And for one proofe of all those he brings *Ans.* to 32. q. 77. wherein is nothing to proove any one of the particulars mentiond, but somethings rather against him. For there it is said, 1 *that our Ministers maintenance must be honorable for his person, charge, and for hospitality*; 2. *not as almes and courtesie, but as debt and duty, and to be paid according to rules of justice, &c.* 3 *but for a way of settled and stinted maintenance there is nothing done that may* (*marke this*) [*except from yeere to yeare.*] doe but compare these words with his narration.

Now upon these premisses unsoundly laid, hee builds many clamorous constructions in his Marg. which of themselves must needs fall with the ruines of their foundation, without any trouble of mine.

Then he falls upon some of us in particular (whosoever they are) *for strictly requiring of so much set stipend for their lectures, or else they will not preach.* XVI.

1. I must here professe solemly (as in the sight of God) for my part, I know not any one of us, that doth so; but (sure I am) I know some of the Contrary practise, who neither stand *compounding* at all, much lesse *strictly* (as he saith) *require so much, and so much*, least of all, *refuse to preach*, when such summes of the peoples owne voluntary profering lie unperformed; But yet notwithstanding, goe on as painefully and constantly in their preaching to them, as before. *Answ.*

2. Let me aske him one question, (for it is the third time he hath beene harping on this string,) that if he (on good grounds) knowes any to doe otherwise, were it not a better way, more loving and sutable to the rule of Christians admonition, (in personall failings,) to deale privatly and particularly with such brethren, (for there are but very fewe of them here, and it were easily done.) Then (in stead of telling themselves) to print it to the world to their discredit? But if he indeede knowes none (as I verily beleeve he doth not, but goes upon surmises, and so casts imputations upon them ungroundedly, the sinne is the greater, and God (I hope) will finde a time (in mercy) to deale with his conscience about it.

He holds still his old course: 1. a false Article 2. pretended proof, 3. inferences at pleasure, 4 invectives against us, his arrowes are shot against a brasen wall, let him take heed, least by a divine hand they rebound back.

XVII. For the three instances in the Magent, I looke upon them as so many slaunders, for which by rule hee is to give us an account, for whereas by *Pauls* rule, 1 *Tim.* 5. 19. he is to produce two or three witnesses for *one* accusation, yet he makes three severall accusations and that of three Churches, without any one witnesse, therefore till the true father appeares, we must still lay the brat at his doore.

Answer to CHAP. XIII.

I. TO 1. Art *Of private men prophecying, &c.* It is answered before, for this is his fifth time of tepeating it (even to loathing,) It is high time to have done with it now.

But the oftner he hath said his lesson, the worse he hath learned it, for there is scarce one right word in this Art. either consonant to the truth, or his Authors quoted for it; as I shall make it appeare by comparing his article with the Authors words: his 1 Author is Anſ. to 32. q. p. 77 78. first *W. R.* saith; *this prophecying is done by* [*meere*] *private men.* His Authour tells us, *men haply indued with a gift of Prophecy.* 2 Hee saith, *they preach for confutation*, as if they must bee polemicall men able to wade through controversies But not one word of that in the Author. 3 He saith, *they expound and apply the Word with all authority*, but no word sounding that way in the Author. these words [*with all authority*] being properly applyed by *Paul to the officers, not to the Prophets Tit.* 2. 15. 4 He saith, this Prophecying is *ordinary*: the Author saith, *they are not called to Prophecying ordinarily* (*if by ordinary he meanes frequently and usually,*) *but sparingly and seldome frequently when the Officers are sicke or absent, &c.*

☞ *t. Cat. p. 6.* alles them ophets.

His other Author cited is Mr. *Cot. Cat.* p. 6. and as in the other quotations he added diverse particulars of his own which the Author never mentioned: So in this (as corruptly) he leaves out many materiall things which would have given light to the point in hand. To instance, *such* (saith Mr

(at.) *as prophecy must, 1 be allowed for Prophets, 2 not prophecy till the Elders have done, 3 not unlesse the time permit, 4 and then also they must be first called thereunto by the Elders.* But *W. R.* hath not one word of all these: that so much serve to cleare our practise.

Grant a Narratour, but this liberty, to adde, alter, and abstract as hee please, and when he please, and then what kind of Narration (doe you thinke) will he make? had I time to anotomize all his Articles, as I have done this, and compare his prooses, I should make him appeare more fully, but I give onely a touch for brevity.

2. He would heere cast a blur by saying, *there is a booke printed called a Sermon preached at Plymouth by a comber of woull.* But I intreat the Reader to put him to his prooses, for he produceth no other grounds, but [I am certified,] so he might scandalize all the Churches in the world.

3. He comes in with [*some of them*] *tells us that Prophecying is seldome used,* that so he might cast a blot on us, as if we were at variance amongst our selves (which course he often takes) and that [*some of us*] are for frequent, *others* for seldome Prophecying, and yet (do but marke the man,) it is not *Authors*, and *Authors* he quotes to prove this (as one would thinke hee should,) but only one, and the same Author which he quoted before; and (which is more) this Author not one haires breadth varying in his speech.

He saith in this Marg. 1 *that some of our people have their farmes so farre from the Assembly that they cannot possibly come every Sabbath day (hardly any) to the word; 2 that the people of late growe more violent in claiming their pretended liberty of prophecying; 3 deserting and contemning their owne Ministers and Churches because they are not suffered to injoy it.* II.

I should know *New-England* as well as *I. P.* or *M. B.* or any of his informers, but I solemnely here professe, and with a safe conscience avouch it, that I know no truth in any of all these particulars asserted, but rather the contrary, unlesse haply in those of the Iland or such as adheare to thē, who (he knowes well) ire not of us, whose waies and spirits are as grievous to our Churches, as to himselfe; why should he impute their practises to us, more then the opinions of the Antinomians and Familists here in *London* to the godly Ministers and people of the city? I will lay this (as all other calumnious aspersions, ungroundedly cast upon our Churches) upon his back, as the raiser of them, untill he produceth *two or three witnesses before us* that will avouch them according to *Pauls* rule. 1 *Tim* 5. 19. *Answer.*

To Art. 2. *After their Preaching* (saith he) *they take upon them to blesse the people, as the Ministers doe.* III.

I desire his grounds and prooses (for here hee brings none, nor in any other place that I can finde,) but the contrary hee well knowes, *i. e.* that Answer to 32. q. 38. (whom he hath often quoted) expresly saith, *that blessing the people in the name of the Lord is an act proper to our Officers, which no member may presume to doe.* *Answer.*

To

IV. To Art. 3. *We have* (saith he) *a course before our dismission* (i. e. of the Assembly) *to give leave to any — publikely to propound their doubts, make their objections, and to argue pro and con*, and in his Marg. makes a grievous and bitter outcry against us for so doing, and adds also, *that it is an abrupt entry at first dash openly to implead the Minister of error before all the people — and that it is scandalous and reproachfull, — it argues not so much civility, piety, charity, nor prudence, &c.*

Answer. Ode 9. 1. If a better then himself durst not reproach one worse then ourselves, though he had ground enough to have done it; (I hope) then *W. R.* dare not without any ground at all, bring these sore accusations against so many Churches.

But what his prooses are, you shall see Mr. *Cot. Cat.* p. 6. (whose words are these) *It may bee lawfull for any* (except women) *to aske questions at the mouth of the Prophets.* 1 Mr. *Cot.* speakes onely of asking questions [*of the Prophets*] (*i. e.* such members as prophecy) he adds [*of the Ministers also.*] 2. Mr. *Cot.* seemes to speake of the *matter then delivered only*, for he mentions no other. He adds [*matters formerly delivered* also.] 3 Mr. *Cot.* excepts *women*; He saith, [*leave is given to any*] without excepuon. 4 Mr. *Cot.* speakes soberly, [*it may be lawfull*: hee speakes peremptorily, [*we have a course, &c.*] 5 Mr. *Cot.* allowes only to [*aske questions,*] but he adds (a bedroule of his owne to make us odious) *they may* (saith he) *object argue pro and con about any matter, &c. yea, they doe abruptly, at the first dash openly implead the Minister of errer delivered before all the people, — So as it is a scandall to the people & a reproach to the Minister, &c.* all this is his own addition.

Then for the other cited Author (Answer to 32 q. 78) he deales more grosely with him then the former, who is in a manner point-blanck against him, yet hee boldly gives him up for an Author: his words are these, *we never knew any Minister that did call upon the people thus to doe,* (*i. e.* to propound questions) *and such calling upon them is farre from us, some thinke the people have a liberty to aske a question — upon very urgent and weighty cause, none judge the ordinary practise of it necessary, but* (*if not meekly and wisely carried inconvenient, if not utterly unlawfull, and therefore such asking of questions is seldome, used in any, in most Churches neere. True it is in the times of the opinions some were bold in this kinde, but these men are long since gone — the Synod and Sermons have reproved this disorder, so that a man may now live from one end of the yeere to another in these congregations, and not heare any man opening his mouth in such kind of questions.* These the Authors words.

☞ Now good reader, do us the favour to give righteous judgement, whether these words cited by him make for him, or against him, where is, 1 *giving leave*, 2 a *course* of giving leave? 3 *to any*? 4 *to object and urge pro and con*? and 6 (which is horribly grosse) *to implead the Minister of er-*

ror

rer at the first daies, and that openly before all the people, &c. Whereas his own cited Authors tells him the contrary: 1 That it is done not often, *but seldome*. 2 Not many questions, but *a question*. 3 Not upon sleight, *but weighty and very urgent grounds*: 4 Not rashly and boldly, *but wisely and meekely*. 5 And this not peremptorily concluded of by all, *but* [*some only thinke they have liberty*.] 6 And not that it is now so much done, but was *for a time, by the bold opinioniſt, who are now chaſed away long agoe*. See what a vaſt gulfe betwixt the Author and *W. R.*

Now for him to reade over diſtinctly all theſe expreſſions in this booke (for that anſwer was written to himſelfe from godly men in *New-England*) yet to produce it, as a proofe for his Art. and the Marg. (which in common ſence is contrary to it,) I ſtand amazed at it, and wonder with what face he could print it, or having done it, how he can let his book be kept from the fire thus long?

Yet further note, our Narratour undertakes to relate only ſuch Church-courſes as are [generally] by the Churche in *New-England* practiſed (as pag. 1. title.) How then can he (with honeſty) bring in this [*asking of queſtions*] amongſt ſuch kind of generall Church courſes of ours, whereas his Author plainely ſaith, this asking of queſtions is not [*Generally*] *practiſed, nor by* [*all*] *the Churches, but* [*ſildome in any*] *Church, and in moſt Churches* [*never at all*] *and that one may live* (as he ſaith) *from one end of the yeere to another, in our congregations and not here* [*any man*] *open his mouth in ſuch kind of queſtions?* What will not *W. R.* boldly attempt againſt his brethren of the independent way, and their Churches, that cites theſe very words I have related, to prove ſuch Church courſes in *New-England, as are generally practiſed amongſt us*?

Anſwer to CHAP. XIIII.

TO Marg. on the Title, *Some* (ſaith he) *grow ſhie of the word* [*independent*] *ſome utterly renounce it, yet moſt owne it.* I.

Anſwer. If the word bee rightly taken, (as in Anſwer to 32. q. 46. it's expounded,) for one Church that is not under the power of another, or in ſubjection to a Presbyterie, but as having received power from Chriſt to governe her ſelfe according to his lawes. Then all accord to it. But if the word [Independent] bee abuſively taken, (as it is often with the vulgar) for ſuch a Society as are neither ſubject to Magiſtracy, nor regard the counſel of other Churches, but are a conceipted and ſelfe-ſufficient people, that ſtand onely on their owne leggs. Then wee have cauſe to be ſhie of a word, that may render us odious without cauſe.

To Marg. of 1 Art. *That wee have ſtore of ſupernive Churches who may command, yea compell both members and Miniſters to act.* II.

Another

Ans. Another slaunder, without ground or proofe, or truth, which I leave here upon record. God, our consciences, and our Brethren bearing us witnesse, how tender our Churches are, but to perswade men to act without light, much more to command or compell; both which very words, (though the thing required were lawfull) are odious in the Churches of Christ; most fitly becomming the Synagogues of Antichrist. Hath hee a lycense to speake any thing?

III. To Art. 2. *We hold our Church power* absolute and imperiall.

Answ. All we use to speake of our Church-power, is that it is *ministeriall*, which is farre from [absolute and imperiall] (words fitter for Emperours of this world then the Churches of the Saints.) I charge it on his conscience (as in the sight of God) either to make this appeare, or else vindicate us (as becomes an honest Christian to doe.

And for his two printed Authors cited (for we cannot come at his private letters) if there be any one word, or shew of ground from them to maintaine his speech: Let me beare the shame of it, for I here avouch the contrary, under my hand.

IV. To Art. 3. and Marg. That we deny all representation of Churches absent, and all authoritative deputation of Messengers to act for them.

nswer. 1. The Reader may well see it is his own saying not ours, for he brings no proofe but from *Barrow* and *Johnson*, who cannot well give in their testimony for our Church waies in *New-England*, because they never came there, yea were in their graves (both or one) long before ever wee had a beeing in *New-England*.

2. There is no truth in it, for we hold a Church may delegate some men, and send them forth in their names and stead, with authority to act for them in this or that particular businesse of trust as Act. 15. 2. And yet he hath boldly now twise or thrise affirmed the same thing of us, and brings no proofe at all for it; and it is answered before cap. 2. Art. 3.

V. Marg. *Yet some tells us*, (saith he) *that Mr. P. and Mr. W. were sent hither by the Churches to negotiate for them, &c.*

Answ. 1. *Some tell us?* Sir, you are a man of judgement and gravity, able to instruct others; You know you may not blemish your brethren, and slander Churches upon such poore and weake grounds, as [*it is reported, I am informed, some tell us.*] And yet how oft in your booke, have you used this course of dealing towards your brethren and their Churches? (*Some tell us*) indeede, is warrant enough for people that have no other businesse, to make three farthing bookes of and thereby fill the world with tales: but oh farre be it from any Reverend brother to blot his paper so unwarrantably.

2. Though your ground of this report be weake, yet (it seemes) your credence is strong, for you make inferences from these premises against

11. And as your ground is bad, so your end in relating of it is as bad, *i. e.* to cast a blot upon our Churches, as if their practises did crosse their principles.

3. What will you say now *W. R.* if your informations prove false, as indeede they doe; for neither did their owne Churches, nor all the Churches send Mr. *P.* and Mr. *W.* but the whole state of *New-England* (or Generall Court) with one consent upon some speciall imployments which cannot yet be all finished.

Now I have told you the truth, let me give you a few Animadversions. 1 Be slow to beleeve ought against your brethren hereafter. 2 Slower to report it to others. 3 But never print it, without manifest grounds and a good call. 4 If you have done otherwise, be swift to recall it.

To Marg. of Art. 4. wherein he disputes against us about *our non-communion, or withdrawing our selves from other Churches in case of obstinacy*; by two arguments. VI.

1. *Because non-communion is in substance the very same with Synodicall excommunications, and by it* (he saith) *a man is cast out of the Church, and given up to Satan as well as by excommunication.* Object. 1.

If it be so, *W. R.* 1 Why have you said so oft (in opposition to our way) *that our Churches have no power over one another*; when as our Churches have a power to withdraw by non-communion; and that withdrawing (say you) is as much as your Synodicall excommunication? 2 Why do you so sleight our Churches counsells & admonitions to other churches, as not being [*authoritative.*] Whereas, if they be not obeyed (it seemes) they can passe as sore a censure as all your Synodicall Authority? For you can doe no more (by it) then excommunicate, and so farre (you say) we can proceede. Ans.

3. Why then doe you call us, abusively, [*Independants*?] for (by your saying) it stands us in hand [*to depend*] as much upon other Churches, for counsell and admonition, as you on a Presbyterie or Synod, or they will give us up to Satan, as well as a Synod.

4. Why then doe not you accord with us in this point of *Non-communion*; (seeing in it your selves and we can comfortably close) rather then strive with your brethren for Synodicall excommunication, to which their judgements cannot yeeld, seeing that is the same in effect with this? This being attended to will end a great part of the difference?

But whiles we oppose Synodicall excommunication, we establish it (saith he) *by standing for non-communion it being the same in effect with the other. ibid.* Obj.

Though *W. R.* thinkes they are both one, I cannot. For that is positive, this only negative: That a sentence passed, This not so: That a cutting off from Churchdom (at least for present) & a giving up to Satan, &c. This only a cessatiō of conferring Church priviledges, &c. By the one the Churches Ans.

ches withdraw, and call in that only (which once they gave (which is the right hand of fellowship) by the other the Synod or Classis take away that which they never gave, or had power to bestow (which is the excommunicates membership in their own Church) So that when we stand for the one (as having no rule to carry us further,) we doe not establish the other. This is his first argument against us about non-communion.

The second, *that it is more cruell, and more dangerous then Synodall excommunication.*

Ans. Me thinks this seemes strange, seeing it is a lighter, and lesser punishment then the other: by Non-communion, A man is only let go into the world where Satans walkes are, by Synods excom. hee is given up and cast to Satan to terrifie and vexe him.

But his arguments for the cruelty and danger of Non-communion are these foure Reasons.

1. *Because by this, whole Churches* (saith he) *may come to be cast out, &c.* So they may as well by a Synod excommunication; for if a Synod hath power to cast out one member of other Churches, then) by the same reason) 2.6.10. and so a whole Church as well, and Churches too, for where will you stop? 2. *By this,* (saith he) *the Church deserted is left to it selfe in their error. Ans.* Looke what meanes publique or private a Synod may use for any man or Churches regaining, the very same meanes (to the highest extent) may the other Churches use likewise. 3 *This causeth endles rents. Ans.* Shew in any point wherein, or why more then the other. 4 *This* (saith he) *hinders not the infection of others, but that by cutting off the rotten members the rest are kept sound. Answ.* Doe not this crosse what he said before? *that by non-communion a man is cast out and delivered up to Satan?* yet here hee de-
Ob. nies it.

Popular Government is one cause of Schismes in New-England, and quotes Mr. *Parkers* letter. *Answ.* Blessed be God, that under that Government of ours (wch you call or rather miscall Popular) the very neck of Schisme, and vile opinions, (brought to us from hence) was broken; When here amongst you where there is not such a Government, they walke bolt upright amongst you and crowe aloud. You shall doe better to lay aside this objection till a Presbyterian Government have healed these sore breaches in these Churches here.

Answer to CHAP. XV.

I. ARticle 1. saith, *We hold the Magistrate cannot lawfully compell men to enter into a Covenant with God.*

Answ. It appeares by his Margent, he meanes *a Nationall Covenant*; But you must take his owne words, as for proofe he brings none, (and I beleeve hee

cannot) but *Barr.* and *Rob.* which never came there, and the Apologie which (as he saith) lies by him: As long as I lived there I never heard or knew the Churches held so. But he must have leave to say any thing.

Marg. saith, *that many of us hold the Magistrate hath nothing to doe in matters of Religion.* II.

Let him know, and all others, that all the Churches with us doe abhorre that vile opinion; Some, I beleeve, of *Road-Island* & some others banished from us, doe hold so, *but those are gone out from us, and are not of us* (as it is said) 1 *John* 2.19. If he had considered this distinction of the blessed Apostle, hee durst not have said *many of us* hold so. This must goe amongst other aspersions to be revoked of, and recalled. *Answ.*

Art. 2. *That we hold, that Christians may and ought to set up new Churches, and practise in them all Gods ordinances; and that* 1 *without the consent of a Christian State:* 2 *yea, against their commands:* 3 *their peremptorie cammands:* 4 *and against the established lawes of that State:* 5 *yea and in the midst of and against the mindes of such Churches as we freely acknowledge the true Churches of God.* III.

He reserved a strange Article for the last; If I had not read it, I could scarse have beleeved it possible hee should have written it: no penne can expresse a greater latitude of opposition against Magistracy, and lawes, and Churches too, then here he affirmes to be in us: if you review the six parcells mentioned you will see it. *Ans.*

To all which I say, 1 there is neither truth in it, nor any proofe of all, for any of these six, except the first. But God and men, our consciences, & writings, our professions, and constant practises will rebuke, & testifie against this misreport. For now you would (in reason) expect some proofes, would you not? for this accusation; You shall heare his cited Author himselfe speake. *Answ.* to 32. q p. 35, 36. (which saith thus.) *Observing the things commanded of God, in a peaceable way, yeelding due reverence to all in Authority, & praying for them. This observing Gods Ordinances cannot bee unlawfull for lacke of the command of man.* The scope of all his Author speakes is this, *That Christians may observe Gods Ordinances though they have no command from the Magistrate so to do*, now where is doing of *this against his commands*? His *peremptory* command, yea against his *lawes*? and *established* lawes? and not the lawes of an Heathen, but a *Christian State*? and not against a State only, but against the mindes of all the Churches of God amongst us? These are all his owne additions, that so he might loade his brethren with contempt. How durst he bring in all these words as his Authors, and yet he knowes they all are his owne?

2. As it is against truth and without ground, so it is contrary to himselfe and his owne words. Chap. 5. Art. 2. and Art. 4. where he expresseth *that notice must bee, and is given to the Magistrates and Churches before their*

joyning in Church fellowship. Yet here in this Art. he saith, *we hold we may and ought to doe it without their consents, and against their minds*; how can these agree?

And whereas he quotes *R. M.* to prove *that before Churches joyne, they give notice thereof to the Magistrate and other Churches*; yet here he brings the same *R. M.* to prove, *we may and doe joyne without their consent*.

Let this also be noted, that he speakes not only of our judgement, what *we hold, we may and ought to doe in this case*; but of our practise also, what we [doe,] as appeares in last words of the Margent: wee looke he should make that good also, *i. e.* that in our practise wee *doe thus oppose State and Churches in our joyning in Church fellowship*.

5. He againe crosseth himselfe, for in this Art. hee saith, *wee hold that Christians may & ought to set up new Churches against the minds of other Churches*, and yet he in his Marg. saith, *that we deny them* (*i. e.* himselfe and some others) *any liberty to doe thus*.

Ans. He must prove either that we hold him and the rest no Christians, or that we crosse our own rules and principles, or else freely acknowledge a mistake in his word.

Thus having done with his Booke; I should now come to the Postscript, which I was fully purposed to have answered also: But now seeing my booke (farre beyond expectation) swelling, I should be loath to tire out the Reader; besides I have touched upon many things therin already, and the rest (most of them being built upon his booke) must of themselves fall with it, and yet if it be requisite and worth the while, I shall be ready to doe it, when I see cause.

A Postscript to W. R.

NOw, I intreate you, in the bowels of Christ and the spirit of meekenesse, to review your own worke, weigh my Answer without prejudice; and consider well how many pretious Saints, and godly Churches (deare to Christ, persecuted heretofore by Prelats, loving to your selfe) without their least stimulation of you in this kind, you have in your Narration extremely wronged, whether through over-much credulity, incogitancie, or otherwise, I dispute not. Sure I am it is done; and so done, that it is almost incredible, (as one would thinke) but you should, now, at least see your error; which if God shall open your eyes in whole or in part, to doe (as I humbly beseech him you may) it will bee your honour, and no small argument of your selfe-deniall, to recall. There was a law in Israel, that he that digged a pit, was not to leave it open but cover it, else what ever damage happened he was to make it good. You are able to make application. Solomon, Austin, &c. never gained so much, as by their retractations. There are some sinner, God will not take up the pardon of, till satisfaction be made by the party: Defamation is one of them. It will bring griefe of heart, but much comfort, to remember (when you are about to leave this world) that although, through precipitancy, you did blemish your Brethren, yet (after consideration) you did againe as readily, wipe away the blot, by a brotherly vindication so far as truth required; which (if after conviction) you shall forbeare to do upon what pretence soever, how will you be able to lye downe in your grave in peace?

FINIS.

19
K. P.R. London

MERCVRIVS AVLICVS,

Communicating the Intelligence and affaires of the Court, to the rest of the KINGDOME.

The 28 Weeke, ending July. 13 1644.

SUNDAY *July* 7.

HAving told you last weeke of the Rebels progresse against the gentry of this Kingdome, in imprisoning their Persons, pillaging their Houses, cutting downe their woods, and at last unturfing the very earth it selfe, (the lowest they can goe, till they come into their place.) We must now acquaint you that these initiate Rebels having devoured all the profit, are now grasping at the severall Honours belonging to these Revenues. For which purpose they passed an Ordinance on Monday last, that *Stewards of Courts may be forthwith appointed in such Lordships and Manors as belong unto Delinquents, that hereafter all Courts may be kept in their Names, who by Ordinance of Parliament enjoy the Sequestrations.* So, it is not sufficient to seize your estate, and take your life, unlesse also your name be expunged, that none may know hereafter that any such men lived in the world.

This hope to have other mens Lands and Honours, heighten their cruelty towards His Majesties loyall Subjects judge-

ing all such uncapable of good usage, whom they have rendred destitute both of profit and title: and therefore such Officers and Gentlemen as they take Prisoners, they now tye in chaines, and thrust into dungeons, for *Sir William Waller* (who till now pretended to more Courtship towards prisoners) manacled those Gentlemen he tooke at *Sudely* Castle, so Captaine *Rosewell* belonging to *Basing* Garrison, was tyed up in Chaines in *Farnham Castle*, and another of that Garrison being taken last weeke in *Basing* Towne, was first manacled, and then thrust into the Vault in *Basing* Church, where there's no light, nor any thing else, but sculs of dead men, and rotten bones under ground, with as much bread and water as will serve to continue them sensible of their misery.

MONDAY. *July* 8.

Nor can we hope for better, while Murther and Robbery are preached for lawfull, and Theeves are the Preachers, (wherewith Sir *William Wallers* Army is very well furnished) One of the Pulpit Felons began to practice at a Village neere *Witney* in the County of *Oxon*, who comming thither on Sunday morning (when *Waller* was last there) ask'd for the Minister, and if or no they were used to *Common Prayer*; and being answered, that they had it every Sunday, he said *they should have no Booke-Praying that day, for he himselfe would preach to the people.* The Gentlewoman where he quartered, said, *Sir if I mistake not I have knowne you in London*; 'Tis true, said he, *heretofore I was a Lock-smith in Tower street* London, *but have left off my Trade above two yeares since, and have wholly betooke my self to the Ministery.* This said he went down into the Stables, where finding a good Gelding, hee ask'd who had beene so bold as to put that Gelding into his Quarters; a servant told him that the Gelding belonged to a Commander in their Army. *But Ile teach him* (saith Locksmith) *how he meddles with my Quarters*, and then presently mounted the Gelding, rode quite away, left the parish unprovided of a Sermon, and from that day to this, hath bin a Non-resident from *Wallers* Army.

This

This their Murder and Robbery are very well ſeconded by many other vertues, as this weeke we are told by Colonell *Weemes*, Generall of the Artillery to Sir *William Waller*, who is now ſent priſoner to *Ludlow* Caſtle. This Colonell being on his way towards *Ludlow*, lay all night at a Gentlewomans houſe not farre from *Worceſter*, whoſe husband is in Rebellion, though the Gentlewoman her ſelfe is of knowne loyaltie; *Weemes* conceiving her of like affections with her husband, addreſſed himſelfe to diſcourſe with her, and deſired when Sir *William Waller* came that way, ſhe would let Sir *William* know, *that no impriſonment whatſoever ſhould make him deſert the Cauſe or Sir* Williams *perſon, but that he was ſtill Sir* Williams *faithfull ſervant, and would live and dye in that reſolution*, (though it be not yet a fortnight ſince he told the King, that *God ſeeth his heart was alwayes for His Majeſtie.*) Before this faithfull *Scot* went from this houſe, he was offered drinke, which he accepted; and when the cup was brought to him, he tooke off his hat and prayed to himſelfe a prerty ſong Grace; (for he ſaw the people obſerved his piety.) This done, he was convoyed towards *Ludlow* by Captaine *Colt*, who talking with him, *Weemes* asked him, if he thought his Wife might come to him in Priſon, the Captaine anſwered, that he knew not what Orders were given for his impriſonment, but aſſured him the Governour was a very civill Gentleman; *Weemes* replyed, that if he might not enjoy his wife in Priſon, he muſt be beholding to the Governour for ſome other Woman; *for I* (ſaid *Weemes*) *cannot live without a woman*; which much incenſed the Captaine, who told him roundly, that *he was at his long prayer over a cup of Beere, and muſt he have his Whore within two houres after?* The good Colonell deſired him to be patient, aſſuring him, that *They on their ſide were not halfe ſo ſtrict as was imagined; for* (ſaid he) *in caſe of Neceſſity many things are allowed us.* Such a Gratefull, Religious, true-hearted, chaſt Gentleman, is fitteſt to be a Generall in this matchleſſe Rebellion.

TUESDAY. *July 9.*

But although Colonell *Weemes* be now in *Ludlow* Caſtle, he hopes his preſent neighbour the Earle of *Denbigh* e're long will fetch him out; yet it will not be, unleſſe his Lordſhip fight better then he did on Tueſday laſt neare *Shrewsbury*, where he came with ſuch confidence (being full of his late ſucceſſe at *Oſwaldſtree*, which Towne he crept into when the Governour Sir *Abraham Shipman* was gon to *Shrewsbury* for convoy of ſome Priſoners) but received ſuch a welcome from Sir *Fulk Hunks* his Foot, and Colonell *John Marrow*s Horſe, that 120 of his men were kill'd upon the place, whom he durſt not ſtay to bury, but left them all with two of his Carriages, to be better examined by honeſter men.

Now if you aske the Earle of *Denbigh*, why his Lordſhip Sir *Will. Brereton*, & Sir *Thomas Middleton* are ſo eager to get admiſſion into, *North-Wales*; They tell you 'tis onely to *plant the Goſpell among the Welchmen*: whom every week in Print they terme *barbarous* and *heathenish*, though the loyall Welchmen have often paid them for their kind expreſſions. And this is the pretence why deare Maſter *Sankey* is both Chaplaine and and *Lieutenant* to Sir *William Brereton*. Nay, that there may be more able preachers to furniſh all *England* as well as *Wales*, the Lord *Kimbolton* hath begun his Reformation in *Cambridge*, (having already baniſhed thence *Eighty nine* Fellowes of Colledges and Halls, with all other able Divines and moſt learned Students in that famous Univerſity; and reſerved none but 3. or 4. ſoules, who have ignorance or faction enough to ſerve the *Covenant*.) One of his Lordſhips warrants came lately to our hands, whereof we thought fit to give you here a Copie.

WHeras by *Ordinance of Parliament, intituled*, An Ordinance for regulating the Univerſitie of *Cambridge*, &c. *power is given me to eject ſuch Fellowes of Colledges as are ſcandalous in their lives* (denying to follow the religious examples

amples of Colonell *Henry Martin*, Colonell *Weymes*, & Colonell *Nathaniel Finnes*) *or Doctrines*, (though Master *Peters* and Master *Vines* have taught them how to preach) *or such as have forsaken their ordinary places of residence within the said University* (for feare of being perjur'd, pistoll'd, tortyed back to back and drown'd) *or that do or have opposed the proceedings of Parliament*, (which are stifled for ever unlesse this Rebellion receive its reward.) *By vertue of the authority thereby given unto me, I doe eject Master* Buxton, *Master* Loveland, *Master* Watson, *&c. from being Fellowes of* Caius *Colledge within the said University of* Cambridge, *for refusing to take the Solemne League and Covenant for Reformation & defence of Religion, the honour and happinesse of the King, and the peace and safety of the three Kingdomes*, England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *and for severall other misdemeanours committed by them* (whereof you are not able to name any, besides refusall of your holy League) *Which parties are hereby required not to continue in the said University above the space of three dayes, upon paine of imprisonment and Sequestration of their goods* (and yet you'll banish them for *forsaking their Ordinary places and residence in the University*, that is, you'll expell them if they stay, and expell them because they doe not stay) *And I doe hereby require you to sequester and collect all and singular such profits as belong to their severall Fellowships*, (yes, that's their fault, *the profits belonging to their severall Fellowships*) *or other places, to be disposed of to such persons as I shall appoynt in their roomes* (such as have been your Lordships Informers, and were pretty notorious for Blasphemy and false Latine) *And further, to cut out their names out of the Butteries* (will not blotting out serve the turne, but you must cut them out, *root and branch?*) *and to certifie me after the receipt hereof what you have done herein.*

To the Master and Fellowes of *Caius* Colledge in *Cambridge*, and to every of them.

E. MANCHESTER.

WEDNESDAY *July* 10.

This Barbarous Reformation upon the Universtity, they hope in time will justifie their Rebellion; when none shall bee so ignorant as those who must teach: so that *Blasphemy* and *Nonsense* shall be as common in the Schooles, as they are now in the pulpit. For these wild Lecturers (whom *too* little *Learning hath made madde*) will undertake all the world hath beene hitherto mistaken, as *Corbet*, the dinner Chaplaine to M. *Massy* of *Glouceſter*, who (as we were this day certified) revealed to the people this rare hidden truth, *That nothing hath so much deceived the world, as the name of* KING, *which* (he said) *was the ground of all mischiefe to the Church of Christ.* Nay (as next above Kings) they tell God himselfe of it, if their villanies miscarry: for *Vines* (Master *Purefey's* Chaplaine) among his blasphemies at Saint *Clements* Church, said, *O Lord thou hast given us never a Victory this long while, for all our frequent fasting, what dost thou mean O Lord? to fling us into the ditch and there leave us?*

These are those teachers that would *plant the Gospell over all Southwales*, which one of them sayes is *more destitute of preaching, then any part of East-India*: which loving consideration hath taken such roote in the Welchmens opinion, that they all rose up as one man, joyn'd themselves to that gallant tried Gentleman Colonell *Charles Gerrard*, who as you heard last weeke) hath driven all the Rebels into their 3 maratine Garisons, *viz. Pembroke* Castle, *Haverford-west*, and *Tenby*, the second whereof (as since we are advertized) the noble Colonell hath now taken for his Majesties use, having left them no hold in all South-wales, but only *Tenby* and *Pembroke* Castle.

THURSDAY. *July* 11.

But the *Westerne* men come not in so fast to the Earle of *Essex*, as the Welchmen to Colonell *Gerard*; for his Lordship having tasted all the *Western* Counties, findes his journey not to

to anſwer expectation, And although the perfidious Towne of *Barnſtaple* (who upon their promiſed loyalty were indulged to have no Garriſon) have now received the Lord *Roberts* into favour (a Lord that for ſome hidden cauſes is ſtill eager againſt all Nobles and Gentlemen) yet that Corporation hath but onely diſcovered its incapacity of being pardoned. For its next neighbour *Biddeford* is poſſeſſed by a very good Garriſon for His Majeſtie, and very ſtrongly fortified; beſides *Northam* Fort, which fully commands the River below *Barnſtable*.

And indeed this fruitleſſe revolt of *Barnſtable*, ſerves only as an alarme to the moſt loyall *Corniſh*; who hereupon riſe (both old and young) with Sir *Richard Greenvill* and other Noble Gentlemen under his highneſſe Prince *Maurice*, to ſuppreſſe all Rebells, who under any pretence would diſturbe their Country. This makes the Rebells judge their Generall unactive, becauſe they cannot heare of his acts upon the *Corniſh*; So as a zelot at *Wimpoole* in *Cambridgſhire*, among other expreſſions had this in his prayer, *O Lord we beſeech thee bleſſe thy ſervant Sir* William Waller, *and in thy due time be pleaſed to quicken that dull man the Earle of* Eſſex.

FRIDAY. *July* 12.

Now becauſe the Earle of *Eſſex* findes ſo little kindneſſe in the *Weſt*, therefore hee'll eaſe them of their Horſes and Cattle; ſending all he gets to *his Enemies* at *Weſtminſter*. Particularly this day no leſſe then 84 goodly fat Oxen were brought from his Lordſhip, and paſſing through *Berkſhire*, notice whereof being brought to *Donnington* Caſtle, the Governour thereof Lieutenant Colonell *Boys* (Lieutenant Colonel to the Earle of *Rivers*) preſently made forth, and happily tooke all the 84 Oxen, which are ſince convoyed more ſafely to *Oxford*.

This Convoy conceiv'd themſelves out of danger, becauſe Major *Woodmonger* was ſeen ſo near as *Green-land* Houſe, where his Forces have lyen pelting many a weeke. On Monday laſt that gallant Commander Sir *Thomas Lowſord* forced the Rebels thence with a ſtrength not halfe ſo much as the Rebells; before his approach to *Green-land*, he perceived the Rebells had lyned the hedges to intercept his paſſage, but Sir *Thomas* came

came upon them with so much valour and courage that he tooke them every man (34 in number) and sent them Prisoners to *Wallingford* Castle. The way thus cleared, he advanced up to the House, where the Rebels durst not withstand him, but fled away to *Henley*, and being over the water made some shot at him with their Ordnance, without any hurt to his men. Entring into the house he found it much battered, and shot through in divers places: having viewed the house he relieved it with fresh victuall, and returned back with his Prisoners and their Armes. Their Governour Colonell *Hawkings* who so gallantly kept this house, till now it was grown an heape of dust, resolved yet further to hold the Rebels play, being confident to come off at last upon his owne conditions; which was done accordingly: for this day he marched thence with all his men, Arms, horses, baggage, Drum beating, Colours flying, lighted match, and bullet in mouth, leaving the place for the Rebells to build a new house on, having paid for this, many of their mens lives, and many a Barrell of Powder.

SATURDAY. *July* 13.

And now you'll judge it time, we give you an account of what was done last weeke in *Yorkshire*; the particulars whereof you had had last weeke, if the Rebels on the way would have suffered any Messenger to bring us a true Relation. What we then told you was chiefely grounded on the Rebels owne Assertions, whom we thought might have beene credited in a confession against themselves: Nor was it a few straglers, but hundreds of fugitive Rebels, who came with full cry, that *Prince* RUPERT *had given them a finall overthrow, taken* 48 *Peeces of Canon, Generall* Lesly *and Sir* Thomas Fairfax *Prisoners*, with other particulars which we forbore to mention, till they were confirmed by honester men; All which, by vowes and very deepe oaths (for the Rebels can sweare as well as Lye) they laboured to attest. But they who dare not stay to fight, dare not speake Truth, though when these Rebells spake it, 'twas then little lesse then truth, which they at *Lincolne*, *Coventry*, and other Rebellious Garrisons were very sensible of, by the same intelligence which they received from their fugitive

fugitive Brethren. The action it selfe was briefely thus: The Marquesse of *Newcastle* having been besieged above 9 weeks (in which time he spent the Rebels severall Thousand of men, money, and Ammunition, by sallyes which his Lordship made with very good effect, and attaults made by them without any effect at all, as the Lord *Kimbolton* at last confessed, whose Army during the siege smarted deepest of any) for raising of which siege His Highnesse Prince RUPERT advanced out of *Shropshire*, & purposely marched with his Army through *Lancashire*, to afford relieſe to *Latham* House, where the most noble Countesse of *Derby* had endured 18 weekes siege, which cost these Rebels so much time and men, that a Brother in his Letter said, *Three Women had ruined this Kingdome*, viz. EVE, *the* QUEENE, *and the Countesse of* DERBY. This siege raised, and *Stopford*, *Bolton*, and *Leverpoole* (three strong Rebellious Garrisons) taken in by assault, His Highnesse came forward to the relieſe of *Yorke*, and on Sunday *June* 30. enquartered at *Knaresburgh*, 14 miles from *Yorke*; next morning he marched over *Borough-bridge*, and came along the River that night into *Yorke*. Upon His Highnesse approach the Rebels quit their siege in very much disorder and hast, which gave occasion to them in *Yorke* to fall upon their Reare, and seize part of their Provisions. Next morning *July* 2. His Highnesse advanced after the rebels, resolving to give them Battaile by 12 o'clock, & therefore gave order that all should be in readinesse by that houre; resolving to take day enough for dispatch of this great action, knowing what advantage the Rebels made of darkenesse, desiring if possible to make it but one dayes worke. But 'twas almost 7 of clocke before a blow was strook, which was very disadvantageous to His Highnesse proceedings; the Rebels before hand having chose their ground, and placed themselves on a Corne hill on the South side of *Marston Moore*, foure miles from *Yorke*. His Highnesse doubting whether he should meet them againe on so open a place in that enclosed Country, drew up in as good ground as the rebels had left him, & so fell on with that wonted gallantry, that many of the Rebels Horse began to run shamefully, and indeed the Horse on

both sides were out-done by the Foot, except His Highnesse left wing of Horse (commanded by Generall *Goring*, Sir *Charles Lucas*, and Major Generall *Porter*) which absolutely routed the Enemies right Wing both of Horse & Foot, & that so fully, that the Rebels themselves confesse it in their printed Relation in these very words, *Our right Wing of Foot* (say they) *had severall misfortunes, for our right Wing of Horse* (consisting *of Sir* Thomas Fairfax *Horse in the Van, & the* Scots *Horse in Rear*) *wheeled about, & being hotly pursued by the Enemies left Wing, came disordered upon the Lord Fairfax his Foot, and the Reserve of* Scottish *Foot; broke them wholly, & trod them most of them under foot.* The fight was extreame sharpe for 3 houres space, till darke night, (the Rebels old friend) put a period to further action. But it had not held so long, if some of his Highnesse Horse had not followed Execution too far on the fugitive Rebels, or if others had advanced to supply their absence, neither of which being done, the Rebels recovered opportunity to rally some men before routed, whereby they preserved their small Remnant, and did all the prejudice which was done to His Majesties Forces. How many were slaine is not certainly knowne, though of His Majesties Forces (we are advised by those who know best and are above a *Lye*) 600 is the utmost, and if 3000 be the totall (as the Rebels pretend it is) let them make their owne Deduction. What persons of quality were kill'd on either side is not yet signified, prisoners good store on both sides, whereof the darke night was the cause which scattered many, who are since againe at their Colours. Three prisoners of quality they brag of, *viz.* Sir *Charles Lucas*, Major Generall *Porter*, and Colonell *Tilliard*, whereof we are more glad they are alive, then the Rebels that they have them Prisoners. The *Scots* were the Reserves in all their 3 Armies (pretious men that ought not to be touched till all the *English* were cut off) but they smarted deeper for it, because the Van both of Horse & Foot, not standing, brought most Execution upon these Reserved Brethren, who hoped to have seene the *English* play all the game one against another, that they at last might take the stakes.

Be-

But there are two Relations of this fight printed (and made) at London; the one (forsooth) *a Letter from their Generall to the Committee of both Kingdomes*, the other *A full Relation by Captaine* William Stewart, one of Generall *Leslyes* Captaines; who sayes he was sent to *London* on purpose, and he tells 1. *That Prince* RUPERT *had got such ground, that he had both Wind and Sunne of the* Scots, (And yet you said even now that *the Battaile began not till seaven a clocke in the Morning.*) 2. *That the losse of men of quality upon their part, was but one Lieutenant Colonell, and some few Captaines,* (And yet page 7. you say, *the Earle of* Eglintons *Regiment lost 4 Lieutenants, the Major, the Lieutenant Colonel, and the Earles sonne mortally wounded*; So, that Regiment by it selfe lost more then all your Army and that Regiment reckoned in.) 3. *That the number of them slaine, whether* Scots *or* English *is about 300 but of the Cavaliers almost 3000*; (Remember you said the very lime of *Edge-hill* though lately you told us you fear'd *Yorke* would prove an *Edge-hill* buttelle.) 4. *That of these three Thousand slaine, about two paire in three were Gentlemen and Officers,* (yet you name none, no not two or three.) 5. *That Prince* RUPERT *tooke all the Ordnance out of* York, *and lost them in the field.* (Why did you not then enter in *Yorke*?) 6. *That Prince* RUPERT *lost all his Ordnance,* which Sir *William Waller* in his Letter to *Sudeley* Castle, sayes, were 28 *Peeces*, the *Full Relation* sayes 25 *Peeces*, and the forged *Letter* sayes 20 *Peeces*. (How often have we told you 'tis impossible you should agree? *Speake Truth and shame the* State-Committee.) 7. *That in this fight were taken* 10000 *Armes* (So, there's a *Full Relation*! Sir *William Waller* sayes 6000 Armes, Captaine *Hamltons* Letter sayes 3000, you may say 3 millions, and have it *vnus* true.) 8. Then for Colours they have found a better art then that at *Newbury*, whence they carried some of their owne Colours, shewed them at *London* for Colours taken from His Majesties Forces; for (we are certainly advertised by such as are able to prove it, that) they have cut two Ensignes into many small Coloues of Hock, all of a colour, ready done

done for the new cheat or mock-show in *London*; For they pretend to shew a Scene of 47 Colours (100 in paper, but printed 100) whereof onely six with *Monts's*, and two of these six are of their owne sweet invention. There's a Silk-Dyer his brother to a famous Burgesse, who were he duly examined can make new discoveries of old Taffata, which would spoyle the fine sight to be seene at the *Exchange*. The Truth is, the Horse of both Armies were sufficiently scattered by the night, those of His Majesties we are assured have since found the way home; and the Rebells Horse and Foot were reduced to so little strength and courage, that Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* Brigade faced them all night, and brought off some armes and pillage without being asked the question why he did so. Next morning Prince RUPERT marched towards *Thrusk*, to refresh his Souldiers, who must needs be much wearied by their long marches, and this last action having accomplished the end of his comming, in raising the siege of *Yorke*, relieving the Garrison with 400 head of Cattle (which his Highnesse for that purpose brought with him out of *Lancashire*) with Corne and other provisions for many moneths, the Citie cleare from sickenesse; adding also to their Magazine 20 Barrells of Powder out of his owne store, and leaving with them his greatest Ordnance (the best evidence against their *Lyes*, who said they took from His Highnesse Canon and Ammunition) which the Rebells will acknowledge if they happen to appeare any more before *York*. His Highnesse in the meane while is joyn'd with the Marquesse of *Montrosse*, Colonell *Clavering*, the *Cumberland* and *Westmoreland* Forces, intending another sackoning with the Remnant of these Brethren, who of all sorts of Rebels are the most perfidious. So that the Earle of *Pembroke* were somewhat too hastily into the Church at Saint *Martins in the fields* where on Sunday last he was louder then the Lecturer, uttering, *God damne him Prince* RUPERT *was routed*; his Groom (*Michael Oldsworth*) being close at his Lordships heeles (though his Lordship followes *Michael*) who smiled several wayes, and vexed his formall Beard, to make it yeild one look like a man of understanding.

FINIS.

K. P.P. London

Numb. 45. 20

Mercurius Britanicus.

Communicating the affaires of great BRITAINE:

For the better Information of the People.

From *Monday* the 22. of *July*, to *Monday* the 29. of *July*. 1644.

HEr Majestie *rowes* so fast, and his Majestie rides so fast, that we cannot overtake them; what for our *Cables* by water, and what for our *Cables* by land, we are yet held from that happy periods we aime at. Fast rowing and riding.

There is now great expectations of *Peace*, peace: I shall now say no more, but *Peace* and *Plots* have hitherto begun both with a Letter. Peace, Plots.

I shall not forget the *State Ceremony* used by the *States Ambassadours*, I shall Print it for the honour of the *Parliament*, it is the acknowledgement of that *State* in their addresse, and it is good that it be upon sufficient *record*, lest some be so impudent to deny it hereafter. State Ceremony.

A Monsieur, Monsieur Guillaume Lenthall Esenyer, Orateur, de la maison des Comuns assemblez en Parlement d'Angleterre, a Westminster.

The like to the house of Peeres.

The Archbishop of *Canterbury* is yet at the bar, he hath as faire play as ever *Prelate* had, and he hath had time enough to prove himself *innocent*, or to die before *Judgement*, and save the Kingdom a labour in execution, so the *Articles* for surrender of the little fortification of *Canterbury* to justice are not yet agreed on, in the meane time I shall give you the *Articles* of the surrender of *Yorke*. Archbishop of Canterbury.

Articles agreed upon between *Alexander* Earl of *Leven*, Generall of the Scottish forces, *Ferdinando* Lo: *Fairfax*, and the Earl of *Manchester*, Generals of the English, and Scottish forces, about *York* on the one part, and Sir *Tho. Glenham* Knight Governour of the City of *York*. Articles for surrendring of *Yorke*.

1. *That Sir* Tho. Glenham *as Governor of the said City, shall surrender and deliver up the same, with the Forts, Towre, Canon, Ammunition, and furniture of war belonging thereunto, on the 16. of July instant, in or about the eleventh hour thereof, in the forenoone, to the three Generals, or any in their Name, for the use of King and Parliament, in manner, and upon the conditions after written.*

2. That

2. That all Officers and Souldiers ſhall march out of the Citie on horſeback, with their Armes, flying Colours, Drums beating, Matches lighted, Bullet in their mouthes, Bag and Baggage.
3. That they have a Convoy, that no injurie be done unto them in their march to Skipton.
4. That ſick or maimed ſouldiers may go after recoverie.
5. That all ſouldiers wives and children may have liberty to go to their husbands, or to their own houſes, and eſtates, and enjoy them under contribution.
6. That no Officer or ſouldier be plundred.
7. That no Souldier be inticed away.
8. That the Citizens enjoy Trade and Priviledges.
9. That the Garriſon to be placed there, be two parts of three, Yorkſhire men.
10. That the Citie bear part of the charges with the Countie as uſuall.
11. That they ſhall have libertie to enjoy and diſpoſe of their eſtates, according to the Law of the land, without moleſtation.

The laſt *Article* was interpreted by the three Generals and Commiſſioners, not to protect them from *Ordinances* of Parliament.

There were delivered up with the City of *Yorke*, 35. piece of Ordnance.

In purſuance of the Articles, 35. piece of Ordnance, 3000. Armes, ſtore of great ſhot, 5. barrels of powder, and other Ammunition were delivered by Sir *Tho: Glemham* into the Magazine, into the poſſeſſion of the three Generals: they marched away with no Ordnance.

It is pitty *Anlicus* was not at the Agreement, for he will never believe it, I warrant you ſhall heare by the next diſpatch from *Oxford*, how valiantly Sir *Tho: Glemham* holds out yet, they are as hard, and coſtive at *believing* Parliament *victories*, as their own *defeats*; and they are reſolved never to confeſſe they are beaten, till they be all beaten after *King* and *Newcaſtle*, out of the Kingdome; but here I ſhall give you the names of the fugitive Lords and Gentlemen.

A Catalogue of the names of thoſe Lords and Gentlemen that came into *Hamborough* with the Earle of *Newcaſtle*.

My Lo: of *Newcaſtle*, and his two Sons. *Alenwicke*, a Scotch man. Sir *Edward Baſſet*. The Marqueſſe his brother, Sir *Charles Candiſh*. Generall *King*. Lo: *Withrington*. Sir *Ed. Widdrington*, Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*. Lo: *Falconbridge*. Biſhop of *London Derry*. Col. *Will. Carnaby*, generall Paymaſter. Sir *Fra: Mackdale*. All arrived at *Hamborough*, with at leaſt 60. others, but many of them wounded.

od winds. Doe you ſee how the *Winds* blow them from their *Regiments* into other Kingdomes, the *Queen* ſhe is blown one way into *France*, and theſe are blown another way into *Hamborough*, and I expect daily more *winds* for diſperſing the reſt.

There

There came out ſomething in *Print*, which made a *ſtrange relation* of the *battle*, tis pitty the gallant *Cromwell*, and his godly ſouldiers are ſo little heard on, and they with *God* were ſo much ſeen in the *battle*; but in theſe *great atchievements* by night, it is hard to ſay who did moſt, or who did leaſt, the beſt way to end our quarrell of *Who did moſt*, is to ſay, *God did all*. God did all.

His Majeſtie having now little left to give, growes very profuſe in conferring honours, he hath created his Generall *Forth*, Earle of *Brainford*, in remembrance (no doubt) of the bloody Treachery under pretence of *Treaty* there committed, he hath alſo made Sir *Jacob Aſhley* a Baron, honour is growne ſo cheape, and by the King conferred on ſuch undeſerving perſons, that its to be feared that ere long a Gentleman of the Parliaments ſide, may have a Knight or a Baronet of his Majeſties late edition to walke his horſe, and a Baron be glad to waite upon his Trencher, is it not a ſhame that honour ſhould be thus miſplaced and dejected; the Parliament yet creates nor makes no Barons, &c. yet ſure thoſe whoſe luſters deſerve a glorious memory to all poſterity for their ventring all for defence of Religion, Lawes, and Liberty, ſhall not be wanting of due honours, in the interim there are ſome honeſt Heraulds, ſome Trumpets of fame left amongſt us, who are ſtudious to preſerve the memory of ſuch Patriots, and deſervers, to be honoured with ſuch accumulations of honour as they have juſtly merited. The King lavi

His Majeſtie hath writ to the Lords and Commons of the Parliament at *Weſtminſter* deſiring (amongſt other things) to prevent the further effuſion of blood; ſince the date whereof, ſome of his forces in the Weſt, fell upon a Garriſon of the Parliaments called *Woodhouſe*, into which place divers honeſt and able men had retired themſelves, for their ſafety; they ſeeing the enemy too potent, and wanting many materialls for their defence, yeilded to the enemy, upon Quarter; notwithſtanding the Capitulation, the barbarous enemy tooke 14. of the Principalleſt honeſt and able men of that Garriſon and County, and hanged them, thereby to teſtifie to the world, how willing they were to ſhew his Maieſties intention and care to prevent the effuſion of more blood; I hope the Houſe of Peers will ſuddenly paſſe the Ordinance for enabling a Counſell of War, to requite this curteſie in preventing bloodſhed, ſure I am, we have many of that ſide, that wants nothing but hanging. His Majeſtie way to prevent bl[oo]ſhed.

Aulicus.

Aulicus irrecoverable.

I told yee *Aulicus* would never come to himself again, for though hee is now perswaded a little concerning the *victory*, and willing to pay back many of his *Trophees* and *Spoiles*, even all his 48. piece of Ordnance, and hath returned Generall *Lesly*, and Sir *Tho: Fairfax*, whom he took prisoners in his last Intelligence, yet he failes still in the businesse, for he fancies that P. *Rupert* is turned a little out of the way, only for refreshing his Army, and only drinking a cup of *mul'd Sack* after his great paines, and intends to return again to unsiege, and unbeleaguer *Yorke*; now we all know except the *Malignants*, and some at *Oxford*, that will not know, nor heare, nor believe that York is surrendred, and the enemy gone out of it into a more convenient place to be taken.

Aulicus must looke back.

He begins thus, *Having told you the last weeke*; Doe you see how hee lookes back for *Intelligence*? He hath no comfort this weeke, and so hee lookes over his shoulder at the week that is past.

The Progresse.

He tels now *of the* Progresse *we have made against the* Gentry *of this Kingdome*: Sirrah, it is his *Majesties progresse*, and none of ours, are you such a stranger at Court, and *lies* so neere it? Doth the King or the Subject ride *progresses*?

He saies, *we imprison their persons, pillage their houses, cut down their woods, and unturfe the earth*: Is this all? Hast thou no worse language yet, and hast railed above a yeare and a day, I am sure this is the fourescore week of thy reviling, according to the *Gregorian account*.

Proffits undevoured yet.

He saies, *we are so insatiate, we have devoured all the profits*: No, *Oxford* is undevoured yet, and *Exeter* is undevoured yet, and *Newcastle* is undevoured yet.

Honours to be taken without grasping.

He saies, *We now grasp at the severall honours*: Indeed any may take the *honour* of your party, and never grasp for it, for they leave it in every place they come.

An Ordinance.

He tels us *of the* Ordinance *that all Courts may be kept in the name of those who enjoy the sequestrations*: And what of this? Would you have no Court-keeping but at *Oxford*?

Expunging of names.

He saies, *this is a way to expunge their* names *to all posterity*: And is it not a curtesie, for it is a shame any of their *names* should ever be upon *record* so for *betraying* their Religion and Liberty.

Officers chained and why.

He saies, *Such* Officers *as we take, we tie in* chaines: They may thank themselves, that are so mad after *Popery*, that *Cords* will not hold them.

Murther and Robbery preached and by whom.

He saies, Murther *and* Robbery *are preached for lawfull*: By whom? by *Cosins, Duppa, Williams*, or some such thing of Prelacy.

One of Sir Williams Army.

He saies, *One of Sir* Williams Army *told a* Parish *they should have no*

Common

Common prayer, nor book praying that day: An honest man was he I warrant you, I would many of our *City* and *Country Ministers were* allyed to this Gentleman, for they are most of them *book prayers* yet, even *Common book prayers*, and yet have taken a Covenant against it, blush ye *superstitious*, ye half-*Episcopall*, ye *quarter Popish Clergy*, ye *Fuglers* in a solemne Covenant.

He tels a *story* of the *Minister*, that he answered and said, *I have heretofore been a Lockſmith, but I have left off my Trade above two yeares ſince, and have wholly betooke my ſelf unto Miniſtery*: Reader, do you believe this ſtory? You may remember what he told us laſt week of *Rupert's victory*, I am perſwaded this *ſtory* came by the ſame meſſenger. A ſtory.

He ſaies, *He was a* Lockſmith, *and a* Miniſter *too*; I warrant ye then he is an able man, and can make keyes for the *Cabinet Councell* at *Oxford*. A Lockſmith

He ſaies, *he hath been a* non-reſident *from* Wallers *Army*: If he be a *non-reſident*, hee is none of ours I am ſure, take him amongſt ye, though he were a *Goliſmus*.

He tels us now of Col: *Weemes*, and in favour to his *Intelligence*, draws it out, and in ſhort, the ſtory is this, and let any judge. Coll. Weems.

The Col. was ſent to Ludlow Caſtle, an unfortunate journey as ever he rid: *He lay at a Gentlewomans all night*, but he was ſo honeſt, he lay not with her: *He deſired her to let Sir* Wil. Waller *know he was his faithfull ſervant*, a very kinde remembrance: *But hee to the King before, and ſaith his heart was alwaies with his Majeſty*, and what of this? *But he ſaies he called for drinke*, yet you cannot ſay but he came away ſober: *And when the drink was brought, he took his hat and prayed to himſelf a pretty long time*, now this praying is a thing ſo unuſuall to their party, that you ſee it begot a *wondring* as far as *Oxford*. But he ſaies, the Col. ſaid, *if he were impriſoned, he muſt have his wives company*, a ſign he had a deſire to live honeſt: *or elſe ſome other woman allowed from the Governour*, ſo ſaid the meſſenger that brought the news of P. *Ruperts* victory, for I ſuſpect him now, as much as *Aulicus*, for all the lies from *Oxford*. But he ſaies, *the Captain that carried him, ſaid, that he was at his long prayer over a cup of Beere, and muſt he have his whore within two hours after?* nay, it is likely that the Captain might ſay ſo, though Col. *Weemes* deſerved not a ſyllable, for they can create reproaches out of nothing: He ſaies the *Col. ſaid, they on their ſide were not half ſo ſtrict as was imagined*, *Aulicus*, this is either thine, or the Captains, or the meſſengers from *Tickhill*, none of the Colonels I am ſure.

He ſaies, *he now expects the Earl of* Denbigh *to fetch him out of Ludlow Caſtle*, yes, and be ſure when the Earl beſieges it, that you ſend for P. *Rupert* to raiſe him, and to take his 48. piece of Ordnance. Earle of Denbigh.

He ſaies, *the reaſon why the Earl* of Denbigh, *Sir* William Brereton, *and Sir* Tho. Middleton *are ſo eager to get into North wales, is it to plant the Goſpell among the Welchmen*, yes, for they have had no Religion yet, but *Letanies* and *Collects*, they followed the King in the darke and knew nothing. A reaſon for going for Wales.

He ſayes *the Lord* Kimbolton *hath begun his Reformation*, in Cambridge, but he means to end it in *Oxford*. Lord Kimbolton.

He ſayes, *he hath baniſhed eighty nine Fellowes*, they were all good-fellowes too, or they had never been baniſhed. He now Prints his Lordſhips *warrant* with his wilde Commentary, this is the warrant without any *Oxford* ſophiſtication. Eighty nine baniſhed.

A warrant.

WHereas by *Ordinance of Parliament intituled*, An Ordinance for regulating the University of Cambridge, &c. *power is given me to eject ſuch Fellowes of Colledges as are ſcandalous in their lives or Doctrines, or ſuch as have forſaken their ordinarie places of reſidence within the ſaid Univerſitie, or that do or have oppoſed the proceedings of Parliament: By vertue of the authoritie thereby given unto me, I do eject Maſter* Burton, *Maſter* Loveland, *Maſter* Watſon, &c. *from being Fellowes of* Caius *Colledge within the ſaid Univerſitie of* Cambridge,

bridge, *for refusing to take the Solemne League and Covenant for Reformation and defence of Religion, the honour and happinesse of the King, and the peace and safety of the three Kingdoms*, England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *and for severall other misdemeanours, committed by them: Which parties are hereby required not to continue in the said Universitie above the space of three dayes, upon pain of imprisonment and Sequestration of their goods: And I do hereby require you to sequester and collect all and singular such profits as belong to their severall Fellowships, or other places to be disposed of to such persons as I shall appoint in their roomes. And further to put out their names out of the Buttories; and to certifie me after the receipt hereof, what you have done herein.*

To the Master and Fellowes of *Caius* Col- E. *Manchester.*
ledge in *Cambridge* and to every of them.

Blasphemy common and where.

He saies, *Blasphemy shall be as common in the Schooles, as now in the pulpit*; only in the Schooles of your University, and your pulpits have more abounded with that, then with Deanes and Prebends.

Dinner Chaplin.

He tels us *of Mr.* Corbet; *Mr.* Masties *dinner Chaplaine*, do not tell us of Trencher divinity, nor dinner Chaplaines, for feare I bring out your *corpulent Doctors*, with bellies as big as a folio of *Tostatus*, but what is this of Mr. *Corbet*? *That nothing hath so much deceived the world, as the name of a King*, and is it not very true? is not that the name they have Angled with all this time, and catched so many with a *Royall deinsion*?

Master Vines his prayer.

But now he railes against Master Vines his prayer, now the reason is, it helpe amongst the rest to get this victory in the North, and that is a sufficient occasion for them to raile at *Oxford* against prayers, the next weeke they'le raile at heaven too for giving us the victory, as well as at our prayers for getting it.

The Welch rising.

He sayes *all the Welchmen rose up as one man with Sir* Charles Gerrard; now if the truth were known, it is this, instead of this, all the *Welchmen* rose up as *one man*, none but *one man* of all the Welchmen rose up, for the poore Welch, who never heard more of the *Cause* then the *Kings name*, and the *Letanie*, begin now to thinke her *Cousin King* is not so kinde a *Cousin* as he should be; he puts so many of her kindred in the *Forlorne hope*.

Expectation.

He saies *the Lord of* Essex *findes not the West to answer expectation*; who sent you that *Intelligence*? the Governor of *Tickhill* sure, the same man that writ to you of the victory at *Yorke*.

Barnstaple.

He sayes *the Town of Barnstaple received the Lord* Roberts *into favour*; you see then they answer expectation.

Lord Roberts.

He sayes, *the Lord* Roberts *for some hidden causes is still eager*, a pretty stratagem, when you are able to say nothing in publick against that noble Lord, you cry out of *hidden causes, occult qualities*, this is an *Universitie* scandall, a pure Schollers-like alumnie.

Incapable of Pardon.

He sayes, Barnstaple *hath discovered its* incapacity *of being* pardoned; do you see how angry they are at *Barnstaple*, how irreconcilable they are at *Barnstaple*, how they state *Barnstable* in a reprobate condition, in a *incapacitie of being pardoned*, but *Barnstaple* cares neither for the *incapacitie* nor the *Pardon*, it is but an *Oxford Pardon* at the best, and that is in an *incapacitie* it selfe, and can only *commit* offences, but *forgive* none, for the great Seale there hath committed I know not how many *wicked impressions*, besides that of pardoning the *bloody Rebels* of *Ireland*.

Cornish.

But he goes from Barnstaple *to the loyall Cornish as he calls them*; but if the Cornish do but a little as *Barnstaple* hath done, they shall be in an *incapacitie* presently.

Rising with Sr Richard Greenvill.

But he saies they rise both old and young with Sir Rich. Greenvill, *and other noble Gentlemen*; Sirrah be not so confident of their *rising*, you know your *Intelligence* is fraile, and apt to *miscarrie*, do you not remember the *Bell*, and the *Bonefires*, and for *Richard Greenvill*, who was *hanged* at the old *Exchange* in a *Proclamation*, he is in as much *incapacitie* here as *Barnstaple* is there, I, and all the noble Gentlemen you talk on with him, but you had

need look well to *Greenvill*, he is troubled, as your Countryman saies, with an *Apostacy* in his breast.

He saies, *We judge our* Generall *unactive*, Sirrah, we honour him, and can tell his trophees, Edge-hill, and Newbury, of Glocester, and Weimouth, and Lime, and expect when Exeter and Bristoll should receive him, and come into the *incapacity* with Barnstaple, as you call it. Our General.

But he saies, *The Earl of* Essex *finding so little kindnesse in the West, eases them of their horses and Cattle*: if they shew *little kindnesse*, it is your inhumanity that hath quartered so long amongst them, but I heare not his *Excellency* complain of that; and for the horses and Cattle, you tooke care for easing them of those before he came; it were a miracle that our Armies could plunder after you, you leave them all where you come, in an *incapacity* as well of being *plundered* as *pardoned*. Little kindnesse.

But he saies, *His Excellency sends the Cattle to his enemies at Westminster*; nay, now you may write *friends*, the designe did not take, as you did expect at *Oxford*.

But he saies, *that* 48. *Oxen were convoyed to* Oxford, that is, to the rest of their fellow plundered Cattle, these are not the first beasts you have stolen from the County, to powder for the Protestant Religion, and the Prerogative.

He tells us now *of Greenland house kept by Col.* Hawkins, till it *grew* into an *incapacity*, and then he left it, and *Basing* comes well on too, I hope to see it in an *incapacitie* presently. But he saies, *we paid many a mans life for it*, more shame for you to take such a price of blood: and now he arrives at last at the businesse of *York* once more, a City he hath now no more to do with then Sir *Tho. Glenham*, a City in an *incapacitie* of ever being theirs again: But where is the Expresse he told us should come from his Majestie, own hand, of the particulars of the Victory: Now he cries out, that we would suffer none to bring them a true Relation: Sirrah, do not lay your Relations upon us, though many a true one come to you, yet you never let a true one come from you, and now I shall give you his Relation of it, which I shall endeavour to put into a posture of truth, taking out the false Parenthesis, and the lying Clauses. Greenland house.

Aulicus his Relation of our Victory put into a posture of truth.

The action it self was briefly thus: The Marquesse of *Newcastle* having been besieged above 9. weeks, for raising of which siege, his highnesse P. *Rupert* advanced out of *Shropshire*, and purposely marched with his Army through *Lancashire*, to afford relief to *Lathom* house, where the most noble Countesse of *Derby* had endured 18. weeks siege; *'Tis little for the Countesses honour to endure a siege so long from her husband, in the company of so many wild Commanders.* This siege raised, and *Stopford*, *Bolton*, and *Lever-pool* (three strong garrisons) taken in by assault, his highnesse came forward to the relief of *York*, and on Sunday *June* 30. enquartered at *Knaresburgh*, 14. miles from *York*; next morning he marched over *Borough-Bridge*, and came along the River that night into *York*: Upon his highnesse approach they quit the siege, *that we might give them battle in the Field*. Next morning *July* 2. his highnesse advanced after them, resolving to give them battle by 12. of the clock, and therefore gave order that all should be in readinesse by that hour, *either for fighting or flying*. Resolving to take day enough for dispatch

patch of this great action, desiring if possible, to make it but one days work. But it was almost 7. of the clock before a blow was stroak, which was very disadvantagious to his highnesse proceedings, *now you begin to confesse, do you? you are come to disadvantagious already*: they before hand having chose their ground, and placed themselves on a Corn hill, on the south side of *Marston Moore*, foure miles from York. His highnesse doubting whether he should meet them again on so open a place in that enclosed Country, drew up in as good ground as they had left him, and so fell on with that wonted gallantry. The fight was extream sharp for three houres space, till dark night put a period to further action. But it had not staid so long, if some of his highnesse horse had not followed execution too far, or if others had advanced to supply their absence,

Neither of which being done, They were all undone,
And so we hope at London, *And heres an end of the Popish Army.*

But there are two Relations of this fight printed (and made) at *London*, the one a Letter from their Generals to the Committee of both Kingdomes, the other, A full Relation by Cap. *Wil. Stewart*, one of Generall *Lesties* Captaines: *Here now begins the Commentarie upon our Relations, and thats all the mischiefe he can doe.* That of these three thousand slain, above two parts in three were Gentlemen and Officers, yet you name none, no not two or three: *name none?* yes, you shall have a List, amongst whom your old friend *Dawsons*, one, who though he were a Poet, yet his *Pegasus* was not swift enough to carry him away, but having lost his nose in the Queens service, he gave not over till he lost his life in the Kings. Col. *Io. Fenwicke*, eldest son to Sir *Io. Fenwicke*. Col. Sir *Wil. Lambton*, a Bishoprick Knight. Col. Sir *Tho. Metham*, a Yorkshire Knight. Col. *Slingsby*, son to Sir *Wil. Slingsby*. Mr. *Townlie*, of *Townlie*, a Lancashire Capt. The Earle of *Monmouths* son: And divers others of quality.

He saies, *if they happen to appear any more before* York, *&c.* He dares us now to appear before *York*, it is too late to dare us before it, we are in it already, and the 48. Oxen, or horned beasts which came to recrute the Citizens, are cut into Chines of beefe for the Lo: *Fairfax* his garrison.

He now tells us of an Oath *sworne by the Earle of* Pembrooke *in* Saint Martins, *that Prince* Rupert *was routed*: sure the Earle is not given to swearing since he was in this Cause, do not upbraid that noble Lord with the sins you have at Court: but this noble Lord was once your privy Councellour, so long as you were able to endure any honesty at the Table, and would alwayes speak out, that which Princes love not to heare, and that is, truth; I cannot here this Lord calumniated, he hath sate so faithfully in this Cause all the Ebbes and Tides of Parliament.

He sayes now, *Master* Oldsworth *followed him, and laughed*, and his Lordship followes *Michael*: Indeed Mr. *Oldsworth* might follow, and laugh too, as who could forbeare, knowing how many *Bonefires* you have made, and how many *Bells* you have rung; but what tell you us of following, you thinke we have learnt at the Court to follow one another, where King followes Queen, and Queen followes *Henry*, and *Henry* followes *Jermine*, *&c.*

Printed according to Order, for Robert White.

21

THE SUSSEX PICTURE, OR, AN ANSWER TO THE SEA-GULL.

London, Printed by *F.N. July* 29. 1644.

The *Scepters* Submiſsion, The *Diſtaffs* Triumph, And The *Croſiers* Combination.

Reader,

IF thou haſt view'd that ſtately Picture, which was lately ſent up to the Parliament by Collonel Morley, *and was taken in a Flemiſh Ship upon the Suſſex ſhore: Thou haſt beheld therein the weaker Sexe triumphing over the ſtronger, and by the help of a Miter, thou haſt ſeen a Scepter doing homage to the Diſtaffe. If thou haſt never ſeen the Originall, yet here is to be ſeen a poore, rude, counterfeit of the chief part in it; uſe thy judgement freely, and impartially: let both the Peece it ſelf, and that which is ſaid by both ſides, in judgement thereupon, be put into an equall ballance. If the Dutch Author be not to undergo cenſure, as if He intended an Engliſh Storie, yet neither art thou to be cenſured for doubting his intention, or for ſtanding amazed at his phancie. Shadows which are not faſhion'd by ſome certain, neer, interpoſing body preſent nothing to the eye, and therefore work nothing upon the underſtanding. The language of a Picture is to be borrowed from the veritie of the Matter, if that be wanting, neither the Art of the Limner, nor the imagination of the ſpectator can ſupply its vocall Organs.*

GOOD SEAGULL BE NOT ANGRY.

THere is a zealous Pamphleteer which flies abroad of late upon the wings of a Sea-Gull (but his harsh note expresses Him to be a Foule of a more ravenous, and carnivorous kinde) and He seems much troubled, that the Picture of *Cosimus* and *Virsula*, drawn by *Gerard de la Valle*, undergoes such an interpretation here, as it does. Because it represents a former British storie of 11000 Virgins which suffered martyrdome in the Emperour *Gratians* dayes for the preservation of their Chastities, therefore He will not indure, that it should represent any thing else. Because *Ribadeneyra*, and divers other Authors have set forth how *Virsula* and her many fellow-Martyrs were massacred by the *Pits* and *Huns*; and because the Duch Limmer seemes to have intended a portrayture of the same antient, famous Legend, therefore his indignation rises high against us, for supposing, that our Storie can suite with any postures in that peece. He upbraids us for making a wicked use of this Picture to foment, and increase disloyall thoughts and jealousies in his Majesties good Subjects, and He saies the plain-meaning Paynter of *Antwerpe* is no wayes guiltie of the same. It is an heavie charge against us, and it were a foule crime in us, if it could be truly objected, that we did put any other language into this frame, then the Artist himself gave it, meerly to dishonour the King. But we onely expose the Picture to view, and permit it to speak for it self, and if it speak otherwise then the Author

thos intended it ſhould ſpeak, we quarrell not with the Inventor, neither ought any to quarrell with us thereabout. The palate of the Guest is more to be regarded in cenſuring of Sauces, then the palate of the Cook: and the propheſie of *Caiphas* (which judged our Saviours death neceſſarie for the common good) is rather to be underſtood ſuch, by the event of the matter, or the opinion of the people, then by the intention of Himſelf. We here in this Table behold a Prince much reſembling in viſage our King tendring his Scepter to his Lady, whileſt ſhe with her hand ſeems to waft the ſame towards a pompous clinquant Biſhop: and this we behold as the maine intended ſubject of the Painters phancie, for the maſſacre is but ſupplementall, and placed collaterall to this workmanſhip. Now the queſtion is, whether an Engliſh Protestant may not without ſin, and diſloyalty ſigh at this ſpectacle, and read ſomething to his own ſad heart, which perhaps the Duch Artiſt aimed at, and perhaps not. If it be ſaid, our King does not at all reſigne his Scepter to the Queene, or her Vice-God, then we reply, This Table is the more harmleſſe, for though ſuch ſhadows have a ſtrange powerfull eloquence, where they comply with realities, yet they are verie dumbe, and dead in contrarieties. On the other ſide, if the King be here lively delineated either in his Perſon, or actions; what ſin, what diſloyaltie can it be in us to ſtand by, and look on, or lend our eares to the facetious expreſſions of a German Pencill?

But the Sea-Gull gives us nine Reaſons to ſhew diſparity, and diſproportion betwixt that Tragedie which ſeems to be acted on this ſhadowie Scene, and that which imbrues all *England*, *Ireland*, and *Scotland* in blood. Let us attend what they are.

1. He ſaies, the dreſſe or garbe of the Prince there drawn with Sandals, Buskins, and Harbergion, ſhews Him to be a Roman Captain, and not an Engliſh King.

This would carrie weight in it, if Poets, and Limmers were confined as much, as meer Hiſtorians are; or if it were not rather Art, and excellence in them to cloud their phancies under fables, and diſguiſes, but they have ever hitherto challenged to themſelves an infinite licenſe *Quidlibet audendi*, and the world allows them freedome to invelop their conceits in whatſoever fictions, and metamorphoſes, they pleaſe. *David* had not taken in the reprehenſion of *Nathan* with ſo profound a reſentment, if it had not come home

to him apparreld with some hidden pretensions: nor had the people of *Rome* been so effectually wrought upon by *Agrippa's* politicks, if they had not been curiously transformed into physicks. The Painter expresses most Art, when in the same Table he limmes severall features, and makes the same aspect to represent a man at one distance, and perhaps a bird, or a beast at an other. And hence it is, that oftentimes when the vulgar read an antient story, the judicious in the same peece can find Comments upon the present times; perhaps *Nero* may view himself in the person and habit of *Busiris*, and *Messalina* may learn to blush at the fucusses of *Thais*.

2. He saies, *S. P. Q. R.* attest the Subject to be *Roman*.

Vrsula, and her consorts were of the *Brittain*, not *Roman* race, and if they had; yet under antient dresses they may read to us moderne Lectures. Not onely the Poet, and Painter, but the Naturalist, and Statesman too can teach us that there is no new thing under the Sun now to be seen, but what has been acted, or resembled in former ages, and forrain parts.

Thirdly, He saies, the rayes intimate a Canonization; and no living persons are competent for that holy, and blessed state.

If the Pope is wholly limited to the old rules of Canonization (notwithstanding his Divinitie) yet the Painter is not; for no Law forbids him to anticipate time, or disorder destinie with his pencill, especially when he both truly records Antiquities, and ingeniously glances at Novelties in one, and the same Essay.

Fourthly, He saies, the Coronets are not regall, but the ensignes of some subordinate titles.

If the Coronet presents to us One that might be a servant to *Maximus*, yet the Scepter pretends to as much, as *Gratian* the Master of *Maximus* could challenge.

Fifthly, He saies, the Miter and Crosier in this picture denote onely an Ordinary Bishop, and not the *Romish* supreme with his triple Diadem.

The Bishop of *Rome* in *Gratians* dayes was but an ordinary Bishop, his pride was then in its infancie, the triplicitie of his Crown, and those plates therein which bore mysticall inscriptions, sprung out of the luxury, and corruption of after ages. Antichrist being so far in his minority, as the *Romish* Prelate was in those dayes, might well content himself with a plainer Myter, and humbler

vestments

vestments then the Painter of *Antwerp* ha's here bestowed upon him.

Sixthly, he saies, The numerous company of 11000 Virgins far exceed the Queens train.

So many thousand Virgins (unlesse we take in forrein Nunnes) we will not affirm; but we do beleeve that in *England*, *Scotland*, *Ireland*, there have been full so many of the Female Sex, that have assisted the Queen, and ingaged themselves actively in this Quarrell. The See of *Rome* ha's owed much of late yeers to the industrie, and art of women.

Seventhly, he saies, the Scene is *Cologne*, not *London*, as appears by the crooked steeple.

An *English* Tragedie may be acted by *German* Mimicks, and there is a declining Church in *Britain*, as well as there is a crooked Steeple at *Cologne*.

Eightly, He saies, None of the Queens train here has been massacred, as *Vrsula's* were.

T'was not intended that the lines should run parallell too far, t'was not so politick that the mystery should be too far divulged: and yet I doubt the Queens she-adherents here will boast of great adventures, and suppose they have exposed themselves to as fierce Enemies as the *Picts* or *Huns*, though perhaps not so formidable to them for acts of lust.

Lastly, he saies, *Romanists* perform no religious worship but to Pictures and Images of such canonized Saints, as are departed this life, whereas this peece was designed for St. *Annes* Church in *Sivill*. *Comanus* being dead may be canoniz'd for his Merit in being betrothed to *Vrsula*, but he that is married to the second *Mary* in heaven (that shall be) being alive may not be sainted, or worship't; well, but may not He be resembled in a canoniz'd Saint, that is already dead? This Picture is directly, and immediately the picture of *Comanus*, tis but reflexively, and secondarily the picture of *Charles*, and doth it not stand with the Canons, that *Charles* may be remenorated where *Comanus* is adored? that *Mary* may enjoy some of the repurcussion, where *Vrsula* receives the perpendicular beams of *hyperdouleia*?

This may be sufficient to shew the *Sea-Gulls* Arguments to be insufficient, and yet to shew that we are not maliciously bent to torture

ture Pictures, or force that confession from them against our Soveraigne which of themselves they are unwilling to make, we further render this account.

1. If *De la Vallee* had no aime at our present Master, why did he give to *Conanus* that figure, that eye, that aspect, and grace which our Limmers use to shade King *Charles* in?

Secondly, if his phancie rested onely upon *Conanus* who was but the Servant of *Maximus*, a new intruding Prince at most, why did he invest him in robes of so much Majestie, and put so awfull a Scepter into his hand?

Thirdly, if his maine designe and subject in this Table was a bloodie massacre, why is the greatest and most honourable space of the Table designed for such a comicall presentation? Why does the humble surrender of a Scepter fill up more roome, and take more state then the slaughter of 11000 delicate Damozels? why rather should not that holy blood which was so undauntedly shed by so many Martyrs obtain more pomp then the bridall rites of one Cornish Lady, which never lived to see the same consummated?

Fourthly, if the solemnization of a marriage, or rather contract, was onely intended; what a dark, unusuall ceremony was the delivery of a Scepter by the Bridegroome without any reciprocall ingagement from the Bride?

Fiftly, if none but an ordinarie Bishop was thought on, fitting those modest times, when Christianitie was but newly planted, what needed such a golden habit, as this insolent Prelate weares?

Sixthly, if the Bishop was introduced for any other sacred office, why stands he here onely attending the resignation of a Scepter, and gaping after nothing else?

These things we may alledge against the *Sea-Gull*, not to accuse the Painter, but to excuse our selves; He may applaud, and we may condole the same thing in the King, and yet if he be not injurious therein, neither are we: we seek no other liberty, but to grieve at our own calamity, not to upbraid the Kings infelicity; that which seems comicall in the *Sea-Gull*, appears tragicall to us, and therefore our conclusion is contrary.

Spectatum admissi risum teneatis amici?

FINIS.

The Bishop of Canterburies Dreame!
The Northerne Maligvants come in.
Fourteen men hanged at the West.
As many more will hang here at the least.

22
Numb. 65
Kath Tr 6

THE KINGDOMES Weekly Intelligencer:

SENT ABROAD

To prevent mis-information.

From *Tuesday* the 23. of *July*, to *Tuesday* the 30. of *July* 1644.

THis weeke hath produced but little newes from our Armies, in any parts of the Kingdom; some newes it hath from the King, and the wicked crue, he so much delights in: The first Messenger of newes was clothed in white, crying Peace from the King; the other in red cryed that newes to be false, affirming blood to be the Designe of his *Counsellors*: the first proved false indeed, and the latter too true; for that Message of Peace so much spoken of, is not yet come; a Copy indeed is come of a Paper with *C. R.* unto it, dated at *Evesham* the fourth of *July*, two dayes after the Battell at *Yorke* (quicke Intelligence) which pretends to Peace, and was sent by Generall *Forth* (made Earle of *Brainford* by the King) It is not forgotten what innocent blood was most trecherously shed at that Town of *Brainford* after *Heaven to witnesse*, was engaged to the contrary, surely the honour was conferred in memory of that dayes blood, so this Princely Message of Peace dated four and twenty dayes since, and but four dayes journey off from the Parliament, hath travailed all over the Kingdom, and as yet no news of it is come to the Parliament, otherwise then an intimation thereof from his Excellencie, who writ back to the Earle of *Brainford, that he was glad his Majestie was inclined to Peace, and would pray to God he might continue so.*

His Excellency did well foresee his Majesties inconstancy, and therefore prayed for his perseverance, for since that gracious Message (as it is called) his Maiesties Army (amongst whom himselfe is in person) have hanged up fourteen Protestants at *Woodhouse* in the West (most of them Clothiers) in cold blood, no man can yet know any other cause, then to revenge the death of seven bloody Irish Rebels, that could not speake a word of English, who were hanged at *Dorchester*, so you see the price that his Majesties party sets upon an Irish Rebell, the blood of two English Protestants for one of them.

He that is an Englishman, that can heare of this cruelty, and not incline to abhorre his Majesties courses (I meane the courses of those that lead his Majestie as they list) deserves not to live in the favour of man, but to be turned amongst his Majesties beasts (I cannot call them Subjects) the bloody Irish, that have murdered an hundred thousand Protestants, for no other reason, but because they were Protestants.

But since his Majesties party delight in shedding blood in this manner without reproofe from his Majesti:, for we cannot heare his Majesty hath punished Sir *John Barclay*, for hanging Captain *Turpin* after 12. moneths imprisonment, or Sir *Francis Dorrington* for hanging two men on signe posts, or those bloody villaines, that hanged up these fourteene men at *Woodhouse*; they must now expect to have *Lex talionis*: and eight and twenty of the most active men for the King, that are prisoners to the Parliament to be hanged, to revenge these mens deaths, for the Parliament by their mercifulnesse, have given the enemy such encouragement, that we now feele the sad effects thereof; let the Keepers of Prisons looke to their prisoners that they escape not.

Where the King hath one Colonell of the Parliaments side prisoner, the Parliament hath ten of his side, so since they have begun, it will be seene quickly, which side will be sooneſt weary of the worke: For the house of Peeres have almost finished the Ordinance for Marshall Law.

Master *Stroude* a Member of the house of Commons was sent up to the Lords with a Message from the House of Commons, on *Friday* July the 26. to let the Lords know the cruelty of the enemy in the West, in shedding of blood, which did suite with a former Letter of his Majesties to Colonell *Ashburnham*, advising him to *use severity to the height* (which Letter was found in *Ashburnhams* chamber (with *C. R.* unto it) when he run away from *Weymouth*) and therefore beseeched the House of Peeres, to use all expedition in passing the Ordinance for Martiall Law, for so long as this blood thus lately shed in the West was unrevenged, we could not expect to prosper.

The

The house of Peeres (were so sensible of the cruelty of the blood thirstie Enemy) that they tooke the same into present consideration, and promised a speedy dispatch thereof.

Had their cruelty rested here, it had been something, but it seemes it runs in a veine, and the designe is now laid that his Majesty (now that Protestations and Declarations, and Execrations cannot seduce the people no longer, they have been so often violated) shall by cruelty compell all people to assist him, the Irish Rebels, and English Papists to settle the Protestant Religion: for that Arch Tyrant and Papist, another of his Maiesties instruments to settle the Protestant Religion, hanged up two men on *Monday* the 21. of *July* at *Oxford*, and uses such cruelty to the Townsmen; that the inhabitants expect to be massacred every day, one of those two men lately hanged, was one *Thomas Atkin* an honest Religious man, who once lived neer Alders-gate; the other was an Apothicaries servant in *Bucklersbury*.

There are like examples made in the North, neere *Preston* in *Lancashire*, and at *Darnton* in the Bishoprick of *Durham*, there were three hanged there by *Ruperts* forces within this fortnight. If the Parliament shall suffer their friends, and especially those that are of the most Religious sort, that serve them, to be hanged, and not to do the like to the most wicked of the enemy, it is the way to have all the honest party cut off, and the wicked ones left to raign, and will dishearten all hereafter for appearing for the Parliament.

If the Parliament once begin to take that course, and proceed in the selling of Malignants and Delinquents estates, it will bring the cruell enemy to a moderation. The Lord *Cottingtons* estate is upon sale, and the lands of so many Delinquents as will advance one hundred thousand pound, and Chapmen, there are many for them.

At eight or nine years purchase they are to be sold, and Ordinance of Parliament, and a grant under the great Seale of *England*, is the way of security.

The King hath ever since the taking of *Bristoll*, granted the estates of those that adhere to the Parliament, under the great Seal at *Oxford*: *Jack Ashburnham* writ in one of his Letters, that the King had conferred upon him a Rebels estate, worth 2000. li. *per annum*, under the great Seale.

Master *Constantine*, formerly a member of the house, but unhappily misled, to adhere to the enemy, received the judgement of the house upon his knees, and was sent to prison the other day: He sees his errour, and acknowledges it with griefe; and as he can, so will he set forth to the World the iniquity of the Wales at Cotton, and the cruelty of the enemy, and

how they walke in darkneſſe, pretending the good of the Proteſtant Religion, but ayming at Popery.

Concerning the Ship taken by Captain *Haddocke*, going to *Scarborough*, with Powder and Ammunition: The particulars of the taking of her, is expreſſed in a Letter from aboard Captaine *Haddocks* Ship, as followeth.

VPon the 12. of July we were about two Leagues to the Southwards of Scarborough, and another Parliament Ship, and one Captaine Browne a Scotch man, he was to the Southward of us, in the morning there came a Hollands man of War in ſight, of 20. piece of Ordnance, when Captain Brown did ſee him, he went and ſpoke with him, but as ſoon as they had ſaluted one another, and had told him thathe did belong to Roterdam, he let him go, to come to ſpeake with us, and ſtood off to ſea, to ſpeake with ſome Ships that were going to Scotland for Coales: Before the Hollands man of War came to us, he did ſalute us, and we him, but aſſoon as he came neer us, our Captain ſent our Pinnace to command the Captain to come aboard, he ſent his Lieutenant aboard of us, and one Engliſh man to interpret what the Lieutenant ſaid, with his Commiſſion from the States of Holland, but would not come himſelfe, whereupon our Captain did ſend ſome to ſearch his Ship, but he refuſed, and ſaid, he would not ſuffer any man to come and ſearch his Ship, we ſhould ſearch him with a ſhot under water, and would ſinke by our ſide before we ſhould come there to ſearch his Ship: We had got him at an advantage, that he could not get between us and the ſhore, to get in for Scarborough, for it was within five or ſix miles of Scarborough, ſo we fitted our Ship, and came up with his broad ſide, but before we did ſhoot one gun, our Captain did ſend a note aboard to the Captain, to certifie him, that we had an Order from the Parliament of England, to ſearch all manner of Ships that came on our Coaſts, and if he would not, the next word ſhould be a whole broad ſide; ſo his company would not fight, and ſo he ſent our Captain word he ſhould ſearch him, and do what he would, ſo our Captain ſent men aboard to ſearch him, and in all that ſearch they could not finde any thing, but ſome Powder, and that he did vow it, and it was the Ships ſtore, and ſome ſmall Grocery ware, ſome Tobacko, and ſome Currans, and for them he produced Letters, that he was going to the Herring buſſes, which his Commiſſion did certifie us of, We could not finde a paſſenger in all the Ship, they that were ſent to ſearch her, could not perceive her to be going any way, but to the Buſſes: So our Captain ſent for him, to deſire him to come aboard of our Ship to dinner, he ſent him word, he would very gladly come aboard, but he had an Order from the States, not to come aboard of any Ship; We did ſomething wonder that he ſhould be ſo loath to

come

come aboard of us, being such fine weather, and it is so usuall a thing for us to go aboard of them, and they to come aboard of us when it is faire weather: Captain Brown being aboard our Ship, he and I went aboard of him, to perswade him to come aboard, that he might tell us some news in Holland, concerning Brown Bushell, and if he were afraid, both he and I would stay in his roome aboard of his Ship untill he came back again, but he absolutely refused, and would not upon any termes come aboard of our Ship, which made us very suspitious of him, so we went down and searcht again, and found a Merchant; then we concluded all was not well, so we resolved to search to purpose, and it was my lot (as pleased God) to light of the place where Colonell Ogle was hid, his men stood before the place, and would not let me looke there, so the Captain came and told me, that place had been looke in already, but I told him, I must see it, or else I would lose my life, so he pulled his haire off his head, and swore some of his men had betrayed him, but he would lose his life before he would part with all, so often I saw that he would not suffer me, I called our men together, we were not above eight or ten aboard, to go aboard of our own Ship to fight with him, and as I was going over his Ship side, there skipt five or six Scotch men into our boat, and said, they would not fight against us, and withall, told me they had a Colonell in the Ship, as goes to Scarborough, and some Powder, and some Merchants that lived in Yorke, when the Captain saw that, he yeilded himselfe a Prisoner, and so came aboard and confessed all; he had a Letter that came from the Prince of Orange to the Admiralty in Rotterdam, that he should take in this Colonell Ogle, and his Powder, and bring it to Scarborough: this ship is one of the best goers I thinke verily that is both in England and Holland, if he had put his ship to run, there is never a ship this day in England would fetch him up; We could not fetch him he came to us, and saluted us, thinking verily we would not have medled with him, and when he came he could not get away from us, what is in her as yet we cannot tell, for we have not unladen her, but to morrow God willing we shall see, they confesse there is seventy barrells of Powder besides the ships store, and some barrells is our barrell and a halfe, in all about an hundred barrells, besides all manner of Grocery ware, Currans, Raisins, Sugar, Sugar Kandy, and Apothecary stuffe, a thousand shot weighing fifty pounds piece which is in her, the Prisoners that we tooke in her, was one Colonell Ogle, two Yorke Merchants, one of them was an Aldermans Son, one London Merchant, one of Master Scots sons of Newcastle, two more Gentlemen which we have sent up to London.

It is certified out of *Ireland*, that they begin to use severity against those remnant of Protestants that are left, and not onely to impose an oath on them, to comply with the bloody Irish, and those others that seeme to be for the King, but they must sweare against the Parliament; and that it is lawfull for them to do it; the *Bishops* have certified.

The Oath followes,

You shall swear to maintaine the Kings Maiesties Armies (though they be imployed to cut the throats of the Protestants) *Castles, Forts, and Garrisons, against all opposition, and insurrection Forraigne, or Domestique* (even against the aide of the Parliament of England, that would send help to destroy the Irish Rebels, that have murdered an hundred thousand Protestants) *to the uttermost of your powee, and that you will not enter into or take the League or Covenant or Oath Printed at* London *the 9. of* October, 1643. *nor any other League, Oath or Covenant to that effect.* So help you God.

The Bishops that certified this Oath to be a Religious Oath, were the Lord Archbishop of *Dublin*, the Lord Bishop of *Meath*, the Lord Bishop of *Limricke*, and divers other Bishops, and a Deane (a man whose pen hath been as deep in Anotamizing the bloody Irish, as any man hath been for their cruelties) yet these Bishops are also most of the Judges, have engaged themselves by oath, which they impose on all other Protestants, never to oppose the Irish Rebels; for to sweare not to take the Covenant of the three Kingdomes, nor any Covenant to that effect, is to sweare not to bring the bloody Irish (his Majesties beloved Subjects) to punishment for their massacres, and murders: A curse will follow all those what ever they be, that endeavours to let those blood thirsty villaines the Irish Rebells go unpunished.

We have one Bishop in *England*, the ringleader of all workers of iniquity, whose power and practise no doubt had influence on the loose Clergy in *Ireland*, I meane little *Will* of *Canterbury*, who on Monday the 29. of *July*, came to his further, and last day of tryall, as to matter of evidence: I will not insist on the particulars, accept of the condalision which was this, a circumstance seasonably applyed, and punctuall proofe was offered to the Lords for it, by persons of great quality, *viz.* That the

Bishop of *Canterbury* told them many yeares since (and they told the King it againe in the Bishops presence, which he also acknowledged) that he dreamed when he was a Schollar at *Oxford*, that he should live to bee a great man in the Church and Common-wealth, and in conclusion should be hanged, with which he awakened out of his dreame, and Master *Nicholas* that pleaded against the Bishop, did leave the execution of this his dreame to that Judgement, which he hoped the Lords would passe upon him, and so concluded.

It appeared likewise in the Diary of his own hand-writing, that his picture being drawne to the life, was fallen to the ground, the face downward at the beginning of the Parliament: Pray God (saith he in his Diary) that this signifie not that the Parliament, who are about to question me, shall prevaile.

In another place of his Diary, he hath this passage: That on such a day of the moneth he was made Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and on that very day, which was a day of so great honour unto him, his Coach and horses sunke as they came over the Ferry at *Lambeth* in the Ferry boat, and praied that this might prove no ill *Omen*.

Out of the North, by Letters the 26. of *July* it is certified, That the Lord *Fairfax* quarters at honest Sir *Arthur Ingram*'s house in *Yorke*, who hath ever had publique affections. That the spotted Feaver and small Pox are rife in *Yorke*: that many of the Cavaleers die daily of their wounds, and particularly Colonell *Stewart*, and others. That the Lord *Grandison*, who had eight dangerous wounds, is recovered, and comming up to the Parliament, to acknowledge his being pilled, though he is at liberty to go to *Rupert*, if he will; but he hath renounced that party: Generall *Lesley* is quartered about *Wakefield* and *Leeds*: the Earle of *Manchester* about *Doncaster* and *Rotheram*. There are many of the Gentry come in to my Lord *Fairfaxe*, *viz.* Master *Darcie*, second son to the Lord *Conyers Darcie*, Master *Rockley* of *Rockley*, and one of the Commissioners that treated at *Yorke* also, Sir *Peter Middleton* a Papist, and Sir *Robert Strickland*, formerly a Parliament man, and divers others: also Sir *Francis Butler*, the most active man in the North, except Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*; Whereas it is said Sir *Francis Mackworth*, and Sir *Walter Valvasour* were gone beyond Sea, they are both in the North still but

but all the reſt formerly named to be landed at *Hamborough*, [illegible] there.

The ſervice performed by Captaine *Hanſond*, a Commander of [illegible] *Maſſies* at *Barkley* Caſtle, is worth your notice, where he tooke [illegible] priſoners, Captaine *Sandys*, Captaine *Martin*, and others, and [illegible] Captaine *Throughgood*, took 60. Muskets, and 100. horſe.

The Ordinance for Marſhall Law, which formerly paſſed the [illegible] Commons, and was ſent up unto the Lords for their concurrence [illegible] this day aſſented unto by the Lords (the hanging the fourteen [illegible] Weſt contributing much to expedite the ſame) with ſome ſmall [illegible] ons: all which were aſſented unto by the Commons, except one [illegible] alterations, which is but matter of forme, not of ſubſtance; [illegible] houſe of Commons adheres unto, and at the next ſitting of the [illegible] will offer reaſons to induce the Lords to condeſcend thereunto, [illegible] doubt they will do at firſt.

The Parliament is in Sale onely, of the eſtates of Papiſts, and ſuch [illegible] bers of either houſe as have deſerted the Parliament, and gone to the [illegible] my, and not the eſtates of all others of the Gentry, that have [illegible] Armes, for ſome regard will be had to their families and Poſterity [illegible] ther will the Parliament ſo diſpoſe of theſe Papiſts, and Maligna[illegible] bers Eſtates, but ſome proviſion will be made for payment of the [illegible] due, out of their eſtates to perſons well affected to the Parliament [illegible] out of the eſtates ſold, or ſome other Delinquents eſtates, for the [illegible] due to thoſe worthy Citizens of *London*, that have thus adhered [illegible] Parliament, will be provided for to be ſatisfied, though perhaps [illegible] preſent.

Printed according to Order, for Robert White.

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The Weekly Account.

Num. 48
July. 30.

Containing,

Certain Speciall and Remarkable Passages From both Houses of Parliament, and other Parts of the Kingdome.

Victory obtained by the Lord Generals Forces against Prince Maurice, *with his taking* 2. *Captains*, 2. *Lieutenants*, 1. *Cornet*, 7. *Quartermasters*, 3. *Corporals, and* 47. *common Soldiers of the Lord* Pawlets *Regiment, and routing the rest. As also the taking of the Majors Sonne of* Oxford, *and* 9. *other* Justices *of the Conspirators, with their commitment to prison. Another Victory obtained by Colonel* Massoyes *Forces near* Berkley *Castle, wherein Captain* Thoroughgood *was slain; and Captain* Sands, *and Captain* Martin, *and twenty others were taken Prisoners. Also the taking of* Wingfield *Manour, by the Lord* Grey, *and Sir* John Gell, *with a Letter intercepted going to the Marquesse of* Hartford, *concerning the Kings affaires in the West. Together with Sir* William Waller *and Sir* William Fairfax *their comming to* London; *And severall other late Occurrences, both from the West and North.*

From Wednesday the 24. *of* July, *to Tuesday the* 30. *of the same.* 1644.

Published according to Order; for fuller satisfaction.

London, Printed by *Bernard Alsop.*

Wednesday the 17. *of* July.

Ur late expectations being answered according to our desires out of the North, the eye of the whole Kingdome is now fixed upon the affaires in the West; and well it may, for thither are drawne the Kings main powers, and the Parliaments great Generall, attended with a potent Army of able fighting men, which according to the Lord Generals Letter, dated the 20. of July, fear not the Enemy: his Excellency also writes, that he marched from *Tiverton* to *Oakhampton*, and from thence somewhat Eastwards, as if he purposed to meet the King at *Bruton*; and that Prince *Maurice* having speedy intelligence thereof, he forthwith drew towards

wards Exceter, so did likewise the Lord *Paulet* with his forces, whereby they thought eyther to have gotten into Exon, or escaped by the Lord Generall without fighting; but his Excellency shewed them a stratagem of Warr, and like a Waterman (who when he roweth one way looks another) his aym was to go forwards for the relief of *Plimouth*, and therefore turned his course by wheeling about another way, and quartered not farre from *Crediton*, where the Lord *Paulets* forces had taken up quarter, which the Lord Generall having notice of, sent out a party in the night thinking to have surprized them in the Towne, but the Enemy having some notice before hand of their comming, were making away from thence, yet in the interim our forces came and fell upon them, took threescore horse (being two of their Troops) and routed the whole Regiment.

There were taken, 60. prisoners, whereof these was;
One Captain.
One Lieutenant.
One Cornet.
Seven Quartermasters.
Three Corporals.
The rest were common Soldiers.

And the same Letters declare His Excellencies Resolution to march forwards for the relief of *Plimouth*.

In the next place therefore, I will advertise you of the condition of the Town, as it is signified by divers Letters from thence. This Town hath in it a brave Garrison of between three and four thousand horse and foot, ready to take the field, so soon as any other forces shall come thither to joyn with them, or the Enemy diverted thence, which for the present (if His Excellency hath not driven them away) have divers Garrisons about it, viz. at Plymton, Cornwood, Solme, and Shepster, and have cut off the fresh Rivers from comming to the Town, having likewise raised some Batteries, which commands some of the out-skirts, and stop all provision from being brought unto them by land, yet is this town well provided with victuall and other necessaries, which is daily brought in by Sea, Beefe being sold there for two pence half penny the pound, and Cheese, Meal, Hops, Coal, &c. Cheaper there then at London, their chiefest want consisting of Money, and River water, which for some uses is better then Well-water, of which they have plenty.

Thursday.

CAptain *Batens* Letter (Vice-Admirall) was sent up to the House by the Lord Generall; wherein he relates the whole manner of the Queens coming

getting over into France, shewing that at her Majesties comming out of *Falmouth*, he used his utmost endeavour to stop her passage, and forced three of the Barkes that were to attend on her, to returne back again into the Haven. That the Queen was in a States Ship, attended with a Galley with Oares. That he made above sixty great shot at her, whereof he thought some did hit the Ship, but being new rigged and Followed, with other great advantages of Sailing, she went with great speed, and was able to sail two Leagues for his one, yet did he pursue her till she was near landing at *Bress*, and concludes that he could have done no more in that service, if it had been for the saving of the whole Kingdome, and his own soul, &c.

We understand also, that this States ship was commanded by one Captain *Allen* a North Country man, who since the beginning of these troubles, went over to *Ostend*, and having a purpose to turne Pyrate, found there this Ship, which he conceived fit for his use, she being built very low, carrying her Ordnance above Decks (to the number of 24.) and carrying as great a Sail, as a Ship of twice her burthen, whereupon he bought her; and for the mischief he hath done with it since, the King hath offered to Knight him: Well may he now expect to be made a Lord!

This Week the House of Commons appointed a Committee of Lawyers, *viz.* Sergeant *Wilde*, Master *Tenng*, Master *Prideaux*, Master *Maynard*, Master *White*, Master *Hill*, and some others;

To consider of what Ordinances of Parliament which are already past, are fit to continue and be made Lawes: As likewise for the drawing up of new ones, if they shall finde cause, and present them to the House, and His Majesties assent is to be desired, which there shall be a happy accommodation between him and his Parliament, whereunto obedience is required in the interim, aswell as if they were already made Acts, being Ordinances of the highest Court in *England*, which was assembled by His Majesties authority and speciall command; And though the King be absent in person, yet is he alwayes present in his politique capacity, and those matters which are agreed upon in this Court, are of the same validity, as if His Majestie were personally present and assented thereto, for if the King in his judiciary power be alwayes present in the Kings Bench and other inferiour Courts (the Tenour of the Writs running *Coram nobis*, &c. though His Majesty be at York or any other remote place) *a fortiori* in the eye of the Law, is he alwayes present in the High Court of Parliament.

Friday.

SIR *William Waller* hath sent a party of horse and Dragoones into the West (of which I made mention of the last week) under the command of Lieutetenant Generall *Middleton*, Major *Browne*, was ordered by the House to march forwards from Reading to Abbington, to joyne with Sir *William Wallers* forces there, for the better security of that place, untill Sir *William's* Army shall be made up to the number which the house have formerly voted on. The truly valiant Sir *William Fairfax*, who deserves much honour for his constant service, arrived here out of the North, and certified the manner of the Earle of Manchester, and Generall *Leslys* advancing from thence, together with their intention to follow P. *Rupert* into Lancashire, and finding other forces to besige Newcastle. And the vertuous Lady of Sir *Thomas Fairfax* another (whose deserts my pen is too dull to set forth) hath taken her journy for the North.

We heare the Queen is gone from Brest to Paris, and some Letters out Holland informe that the Marqueese of Newcastle, Generall King, & some others of that company are gone thither also to meet her Majestie.

A Letter was intercepted in Glocestershire, from one *Edward Kirton*, directed to the Marqueese of Hartford, wherin he extolls the strength of Prince *Maurice*, supposing him to be six or seaven thousand strong in horse and foote, requiring him, that one of their best Generalls (the Earle of Brisoll) was gone with her Majesty into France, seeming to lament the want of him here, but they expect his advise may be a great furtherance to her Majesties proceedings in France, he being well acquainted in forraigne imployments. This Colonell *Ashburnham* is disgraced and shamefully spoken of in the Kings Army, for his base and cowardly deserting the Port of Weymouth and running away into the Isle of Portland, where he can doe his Majesty but little service, and that something of concerment must be suddenly performed in the West by his Majesty, to satisfie the country, or else it will much prejudice his affaires there, and that part of the Kingdome would be utterly lost.

Letters out of the West, doe also certifie, that upon the Lord Generalls advance from Tiverton, he caused all his Armes to be new fixed, and had three thousand Armes more brought unto him from Lyme and Portsmouth, wanting not men, which freely come in to him: they further certifie, that in Exon there are not above two thousand five hundred fighting men, and that three hundred lately runne away from thence.

The House of Commons have in consideration an Ordinance, for the selling of Delinquents Estates, who are Papists, or were Members of either House

House, the mony to be imployed for the publique service of the Kingdome in paying the Armyes. Which Ordinance was there read and committed.

Other Letters out of the West informe us, that the Enemy doth sweep away all the Horse they can meet with in those parts. And when things are growne to this extremity, it were better if those which shew themselves for the Parliament, would bring in their Horses before hand, to prevent the Kings forces from having them to imploy against themselves: and to further the Enemy in their plundering designes, as no doubt the greatest part of the West Countrey will do to the Lord Generall.

And those that came out of the North do also inform us, that the Earle of Newcastle (before the Siege at York) and Prince *Rupert* (in his returne (after his rout) into Lancashire, have made such use of their Friends in Westmerland, and the parts adjacent (in which places they for a time had correspondence) that they have driven away their Cattle and carried away all things else so near as they could, that was necessary for an Army, leaving little behinde them, but old men and women.

We are certified by a Messenger that came newly from Oxford, that the plague is very much increased, and many houses infected and shut up in the City. It is also certyfied *Windebank* is gone again, and that *Arundel* of Warmer Castle in Wiltshire is also gone. The Enemie are in all parts almost besides themselves, and know not which way to turne in their undone and lost condition they are in.

About ten of the Juncto or Oxford Committee men (I should say Conspirators) were taken near Oxford by Sir *William Wallers* Soldiers, and brought before the Committee of Examinations, and committed to severall prisons: One of them was the Major of Oxfords Sonne.

Some old overtures of Peace newly furbusht have lately come to the Parliament, signed with —— C. R. and subscribed by —— *G. Digby*. And how inclinable that party is thereto we may not doubt; If *Digbies* Letter to the Earle of *Ormond* in Ireland, commanding him to proceed against the Commissioners for the Protestants there (which were lately about a shootlesse Treaty with His Majesty at Oxford) should be proceeded against as Traitors for doing but their duty, be agreeable to Law? If the inviting more Irish Rebels over hither, and the Queens going into France with old *Digby* and *Jermine* for a new supply; Shew a desire of prevention of further calamities of Warre?

If the executing of Captain *Turpin* at *Exceter*, and the hanging of fourteen honest Country men about a Week since, which did not so much as beare Armes, that were taken in *Woodhouse* neer *Warminster* in the County

of *Somerset*, for no other cause, but that they fled thither for feat of the Irish, French, and other blood-thirsty Papists in the Kings Army, be a signe of his Majesties sorrow of heart, and much griefe to behold the devastation and destruction that is now made in this Kingdome, by the shedding of the blood of so many of his Subjects, and if the not acknowledging of this to be his Parliament, be a way to procure a Treaty of Peace, and a gracious pardon?

Notwithstanding Collonel *Massyes* want of Horse since Collonel *Purfoyes* being called from thence upon other important service, and some incursions which the Enemy hath lately made neere the City, and driving away some of their Cattle, yet is that valiant Commander a great Thorne in their sides, and not onely keeps them with Alarums and continuall feares, but attains many brave atchievements over them: But to omit such as have already been presented to your view, I will onely acquaint you with a Letter dated the 24. of July, which came from a Captain of his, viz. Captain *Mammond*, under his owne hand: The true contents whereof followeth.

I went out by my Collonels command, with a Party from Glaucester on Tuesday last, towards Berkley Castle, and at our appearance, the Enemy fled all out of the Town into the Castle, so that we entred the Towne, where we made some stay, the Enemy not daring to sally out upon us, but at our advancing back again from thence, the Enemy issued forth, and fell upon our Reare, whereupon we presently faced about and charged them with much resolution, killed twelve of them and took twenty also Prisoners. We also took Captain Sands *a young Gallant lately come to a good estate in this Country, and one Captain* Martin, *and Sam Cap.* Thoroughgood, *which came lately from Bristoll, and tooke other inferiour Officers. We lost but one or two men, some others wounded, so were many of the Enemy; by which meanes there is hopes that the Castle will be the sooner yeilded, when Collonel* Massey *or any other Forces shall lay Siege against it, which its thought will be ere long, for that that it doth chiefely annoy those parts, and is the strongest hold the Enemy hath thereabouts.*

This

This day Letters out of the West informe us, that the King is gone from Bruton to Ilcester and Evill, on the edge of Sommersetshire, and some thought that he would rather march towards Weymouth, then meet the Lord Generall, which if he doth, he is like to finde the Parliaments forces there in a good condition, for the Governour wrote this week, that they were well fortified, and wanted not hearts and courage to resist all the Kings Army, if they came thither.

Saturday.

Since the Lord *Grey*, and Sir *John Gell* took Wilne Ferry, they met with a party of Hastings his men, in their march to besiege Wingfield Mannor (a garrison of his) and took sixty horse and twenty prisoners, and it is reported that they have taken this Mannor house, and are going against *Hastings* his owne Den at *Ashby De-la Zouch*, which is very probable, but as yet I have not seen any Letters to confirme it.

The Parliament taking into consideration the Queens going over into France, and the Marquesse of Newcastle, Generall King and the rest of their confederats, going into Holland, and the many Pyrats that doe continually infest the narrow Seas, together with the expectation which the King hath of bringing over ayde out of Ireland, agreed that it was necessary that timely care should be taken for a winter fleet, for the safety and defence of this Kingdome, and thereupon voted, that ten of the Kings great Ships, and eighteen Marchant shipps, should be victualled and fitted for a winter Fleet as afore said.

From the North we are certified that the Earle of Manchester and Generall Lesly, are advanced from York to Doncaster about twenty six miles more south. They have sent to the Parliament to acquaint them with the reasons of their moving that way, & the state of the Army; with desire of directions from them, concerning their further motion after *Rupert*, which they heare continues in Lancashire, and hath recruted his forces to about tenne thousand horse, and Dragoones.

Munday

Munday.

THis day the Bishop of *Canterbury* was again brought to the House of Peeres; The matter in charge against him, being his Traiterous endevouring not onely to take away the power and authority of Parliaments, but the very Essence and being thereof, which was proved by severall reasons of his owne framing, and written in his owne hand; the particulars whereof would be too tedious to be related in this paper, but the heads were these: That no Parliament ought to begin when they met together, where they ended at the dissolving of the former Parliament, if the subject whereupon they brake off, were any common aggrievance; neither ought they to continue long, or meddle with any thing concerning the Church, but their meeting ought to be onely for granting of Subsidies, which in the first place, should be granted, before any requests of theirs should be made. And speaking of the Parliaments in the yeare 1627, and 1628. he saith, That now the Parliament meet to consult of redressing aggrievances, and claiming their rights, rather then to supply the King, &c. So that by this, together with some Marginall notes written with his owne hand, upon a learned Speech of Sir *Benjamin Rudyer*, tending to the Subjects rights, and privilege of Parliament; whereby he marks and objects against the principall heads thereof: with other matters proved against him. It appeares that he was the principall instrument that sought to make obstructions in justice, to alter the Law, hinder the course of Parliaments, bring in an Arbitrary Government, and put His Majestie out of liking with His Great Councell, and so was a meanes of drawing him away; and consequently of all the Evils which of late yeares hath happened in this Kingdome.

On Saterday night Sir *William Waller* came up to *London*, to consult with the Parliament and Committee of both Kingdomes, and was this day in the House.

The Scottish Forces are about Leeds and Wakefield: Collonel *Cromwell* with some ten thousand horse and foot (selected out of the three Armies) is advanced towards Lancashire. The Lord *Fairfax* is advancing towards *Scarborough*.

This is Printed according to Order.

FINIS.

To the AUTHOR upon his FRONTIS-PIECE.

Eagle, who e'r thou art; it is a prize
Not worth thy wing; ſhall eagles ſtoop at flies?
True; they have blown thy prey; but, in thy ſtead,
The vulgar fly-flap might have ſtruck them dead.
But they have ſported with the flame of Kings!
That very flame would ſoon have burnt their wings:
If not; Arachne, in her watchfull ſeat,
As ſure as Greg'ries *hand, had done the feat.*
But 'tis too late: ſome honour it will be,
Above their merits, to be cruſh't by thee.

SACRA NEMESIS

To the Author upon his FRONTIS-PIECE.

Eagle, who e'r thou art; it is a prize
Not worth thy wing; ſhall eagles ſtoop at flies?
True; they have blown thy prey; but, in thy ſtead,
The vulgar fly-flap might have ſtruck them dead.
But they have ſported with the flame of Kings!
That very flame would ſoon have burnt their wings:
If not; Arachne, in her watchfull ſeat,
As ſure as Greg'ries *hand, had done the feat.*
But 'tis too late: ſome honour it will be,
Above their merits, to be cruſh't by thee.

SACRA NEMESIS

SACRA NEMESIS,
THE
Levites Scourge,
OR,
Mercurius { BRITAN. CIVICVS } *Disciplin'd.*
ALSO
Diverse remarkable Disputes and Resolvs in the ASSEMBLY of Divines related, Episcopacy asserted, Truth righted, Innocency vindicated against detraction.

Nazianzen. Epist. 11.
Οὐδεὶς ἐφέξει γλεωλῆς αὐτονομίαν
Anonymus de pace ecclesiæ.
Nunquam veritas rea fuit, ut non in eodem foro causam ageret innocentia.
The truth of religion was never indicted, but innocency was arraigned at the same bar.

DEUT. 33. 11.
Strike through the loyns of them that rise up against Levi, *and of them that hate him, that they rise not again.*

August. 15. OXFORD,
Printed by *Leonard Lichfield*, printer to the Universitie.
1644.

To the Reader.

WHen the *hart* is ſmitten, and ſore hurt, all the *raskall deer* run away, and leave him alone to the crueltie of the blood-hounds: ſo it is with the vulgar ſort, when a perſon of qualitie in Church or commonwealth is wounded by the *Nimrods* of this age in his eſtate, libertie or reputation (though not in conſcience) they all ſhun him and ſhift (as well as they can) for themſelves: none dare give a *pluck* at the *arrow*, much leſſe chaſe away the hounds that follow eagerly upon the *hot ſent*, and never leave till they have *plucke* the deer down. O the miſerie of theſe days, by ſo much the more woful becauſe not bemoaned (theſe things are come upon thee, who will lament thee?) What! ſaid I bemoaned! nay ſcorned and derided; nay inſulted inſolently upon, nay uncharitably cenſured. If the viper light upon *Pauls* hand, *ſurely he is a murderer* not worthy to live: if a man be *committed*, certainly he hath *committed* ſome great fault in the judgement of the *ignobile vulgus*, who forget of whom the Apoſtle ſpake in the *Hebrews*, *they were tryed by mockings and ſcourgings*; *yea, moreover by bonds and impriſonment*, *whom the world was not worthy of*. They who are in durance are judged not to be worthy to live in the world; whereas by the judgement of the holy Ghoſt, if they ſuffer in this kind for a good conſcience, the world is not worthie of them: yet now calamitie is accompted a crime, and miſery guilt, and durance malignancie, and to viſit thoſe that are impriſoned a ſufficient cauſe of bonds. Never was there ſince the Reformation,

Eſay 51. 19.

Acts 28. 4.

11. 36. *Herman Leomel Spong. ex lit. lib. 8. catena martyrum ſunt manilia religionis.*

Humphredus in vita Juelli, nebula eſt, tranſibit.

formation, no not in Q. *Maries* dayes; when the *cleareſt ſkie* of the Church was *over-caſt* with a bloody cloud, ſuch a lamentable cry heard from the ſons of *Levi*, their wives and children being thruſt out of the ſanctuarie, ſpoyled of all their goods, ſtript ſtark naked, and ſtarved with hunger and cold as at this preſent. Neither is

Prof. ſat. 1.

this all, but every *treſſis agaſo*, every *hackney* pamphleter, every mercenary ſcribler caſts blots on their faces, and addes affliction to the afflicted, and powreth vinegar into their wounds in ſtead of oyl. Among theſe *Britanicus* is the buſieſt, who in the enſuing treatiſe is called to an accompt. But who he is in particular or his antagoniſt;

Eraſ. adag. Andabatarum ritu.

appeares not, for they fight like *Andabatæ* in *tenebris* in the dark, or rather like *whifflers* with vizards on their faces. And marvail not at it, for *truth ſeldom appears* (now adays) on either ſide *but masked*. And if *Britanicus*, who is a favourite of the time, *Gallinæ filius albæ*, whoſe daring pen weekly provoketh, not only the *crozure*, but the *Scepter*, yet conceals his proper name; how much more needed his adverſarie ſo to doe, who was before in

Liv. dec. Fœdior in orbe trucidatio, cum tuba fœminarum puerorumque in ſuccenſum ignem ſe conjicerent: vivig. ſanguinis flammam orientem reſtinguerent.

nimbo, and now is in *limbo* (where uſually no light is ſeen but through a chink, nor men but through a grate) who hath loſt all *pro Chriſto Domino, & Domini Chriſto*, for the Lord Chriſt, and the Lord his Chriſt, that is, his anoynted, ſave the teſtimonie of a good conſcience, and a vehement deſire to quench the fire kindled of late in the bowels of the Church even with his blood, as the *Aſpani* ſometimes did, and bury it in his aſhes?

The

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SECT. *ult.*

A true tranſcript of the moſt materiall part of *D. F.* his letter to the Primate of *Ireland*, and an accompt of the whole. See *pag.* 100.

SECT.

ARTICLE 8.

Of the three Creeds.

The three Creeds, Nice Creed, Athanasius Creed, & that which is commonly called the Apostles Creed, ought thoroughly to be received and beleeved: for they may be proved by most certain warrants of holy Scripture.

Concerning this eighth Article, *vide* 2 speeches, *pag.* 13.

ARTICLE 11.

Of the Justification of MAN.

WE are accompted righteous before God, only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ by faith, and not for our own works, or deservings. Wherefore, that we are justified by faith only, is a most wholesome doctrine, and very full of comfort, as more largely is expressed in the Homily of Justification.

Concerning this eleventh Article, *vide* 5 speeches, *pag.* 20.

SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT

The two first clauses of the Covenant, as they were offered to the Assembly, licensed, and entred into the Hall book according to Order, September 4. 1643. *and Printed at London for* Philip Lane.

1. THat we shall all and each one of us, sincerely, readily and constantly, through the Grace of God, endeavour in our severall places and callings, the preservation of the true Reformed Protestant Religion, in the Church of *Scotland*, in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Government *according to the Word of God*, and the reformation of Religion in the Church of *England* (*this Explication to be at the end of the Covenant, as far as we* doe, or shall in our consciences conceive to be according to the Word of God) according to the same holy Word, the Example of the best Reformed Churches, and as may bring the Church of God in both Nations to the neerest conjunction and Uniformity in Religion, confession of Faith, Forme of Church-government, directory for Worship and Catechizing; that we and our Posterity after us may, as Brethren, live in Faith and Love.

2. That we shall in like manner, without respect of persons, endeavour the Extirpation of Popery, Prelacie, Superstition, Heresie, Schisme and Prophanenesse, and whatsoever shall be found to be contrary to sound Doctrine, and the power of Godlinesse in both Nations, lest we partake in other mens sins, and thereby be endangered to receive of their plagues, that the Lord may be one, and his Name one in both Kingdoms.

To which first printed copie, the Doctors speech delivered in the Assembly, relateth pag. 48.

The

The two clauſes of the Covenant, as they were altered and Printed by Order of the Houſe of COMMONS.

I. THat we ſhall ſincerely, really and conſtantly, through the Grace of God, endeavour in our ſeverall places and callings, the preſervation of the reformed Religion in the Church of *Scotland*, in Doctrine, Worſhip, Diſcipline and Government, *againſt our common Enemies*, the Reformation of Religion in the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, in Doctrine, Worſhip, Diſcipline and Government, according to the Word of God, and the Example of the beſt Reformed Churches, and ſhall endeavour to bring the Churches of God in the three Kingdomes, to the neareſt Conjunction and Uniformity in Religion, Confeſſion of Faith, form of Church-Government, Directory for Worſhip and Catechizing; that wee and our Poſterity after us, may, as Brethren, live in Faith and Love, and the Lord may delight to dwell in the midſt of us.

II. That we ſhall in like manner, without reſpect of perſons, endeavour the extirpation of Poperie, Prelacie, *that is, Church-Government by Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, their Chancellours, Commiſſaries, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Arch-deacons, and all other Eccleſiaſticall Officers depending on the Hierarchie*, Superſtition, Hereſie, Schiſm, Prophaneneſſe, and whatſoever ſhall be found to be contrary to ſound Doctrine and the power of Godlineſſe; leſt we partake in other mens ſins, and thereby be in danger to receive of their plagues and that the Lord may be one, and his Name one in the three Kingdoms.

Errata.

Errata.

Epiſt. to the reader, l. 19. in, *r.* to.
p. 12. *l.*23.dazled, *r.* ſo dazled. *p.* 15.in marg.*Voſ. de* 36. *r.Voſ. de tribus ſymbo. p.* 40. *l.* 1. 2. *Cor.* 1. 30. *r.* 1. *Cor.* 1. 30. *p.* 43. *l.* 13. *ſpeciei. r.ſpecie. p.* 52. *l.* 24. *Acts.* 3. 1. *r.* 1. 3. *p.* 61. adde in marg. *Aug. de civit. Dei. l.*19. *c.* 19. *l. ult. p.* 66. *l.*22. thought *r.* fought. *p.* 69. *l.* 25. there *r.* then. *p.* 87. *l.* 14. *dele* his owne Nation.*for Primate of Armagh. r.*Primate of Ireland.

SIGT.

SECTION I.

The Character of Britanicus.

Diego Yornit edit. Venet. 1604.

Barcæus, veſter Diabolo venit obviam petiitq; ut cathedram ejus occuparet, quia erat dignior.

Pſal. 1.

Prov. 26. 5.

Alderm. P.

Vell. Paterc. l. 2.

Diego writeth, That *Barcæus* meeting with the Devill ſitting at his eaſe upon a Chaire, bid him riſe up and give place to his better. The tale, *Britanicus*, is morallized in thee, thou mayſt very well chalenge the precedencie of Satan, and thruſt him out of his Chaire, *The ſeat of the ſcornfull*, wherein thou haſt ſate for theſe many moneths, and out-raileſt all the *Shimie's*, and *Rabſekehs*, and out-Lyeſt all the *Simmeaſſes* and *Pſeudoluſſes* that ever ſate in that Chaire. And although *Tacitus whiſpers* me in the eare, *Maledicta, ſi traſcaris, agnita videntur; ſpreta exoleſcunt*: Contumelious ſpeeches if they put thee into a chafe, ſeeme to argue guilt. Yet becauſe a wiſer then he adviſeth, *to anſwer a foole according to his folly, leſt he be wiſe in his owne conceit*: And becauſe it is ratheran argument of ſtupiditie then innocencie, to be altogether unſenſible when our integritie, or the reputation of our friend is touched, though it be but with the *ſcratch of a gooſe quill*; I though fit, *potius vexatum & caſtigatum quam deſpectum dimittere Vatinium*, rather to diſmiſſe *Vatinius* well cudgelled then ſlighted, I meane that ſcorne of all the learned, and hate of all good men, *Britanicus*, or rather *Brutanicus* not from *Brutus* but *Brutum*. For he is no better then one of *Cerberus whelpes*, at which *Hercules* would not vouchſafe to give a *Kick* in his returne from Hell: yet becauſe ſince he hath lickt cleane the *Exprators* trencher, he never leaveth *barking* at all who adore not the *cap of maintenance*, nor *canonize* the *ſynagogue* of orbicular independents; I was deſired to ſtrike him *baculo paſtorali*, and teach him from henceforth, *ſua potius lambere ulcera, quam aliorum famam arrodere*, rather to uſe his tongue in licking his owne ſores, then his teeth in *biting* them, upon whom heretofore he baſely fawned. The beſt is, he to whoſe appologie I have conſecrated my Pen, is ἐκτὸς βελῶν, out of the danger of this haile-ſhot, above theſe *nebulas nebulonum*, his reputation is ſafe both from the tongue of detraction and teeth of envie, being treaſured up in the hearts of all that ſincerely love the truth. *Anthonie* proſcribed *Cicero*, for the ſpace onely that the Triumvirate in *Rome* laſted,

lasted, but *Cicero* proscribed *Anthonie* to all ages. The more Camomile is trod upon, the sweeter smell it gives, and the black aspersions of malice serve but as a dark foyle to set off the lustre of eminent vertue. For thee, *Britanicus*, seeing thou knowest not thy selfe, I will send thee to S. *Jerome* for thy Character, under the name of the Elfe *Helvidius*, *Loquacitatem facundiam existimat, & maledicere omnibus bonæ conscientiæ signum arbitratur*: he accounts railing to be Rhetorick, and deemes it to be an argument of a good Conscience, to speake evill of all men.

SECT. II.

The censure of all the Diurnals and Scouts.

Divin. Instit. l. ult.

WHat *Lactantius* threatned the ravening Wolves, will sooner or later befall the mad Dogs also; *Veniet lupis rapacibus dies suus*, not onely those ravening Wolves that have *worried*, not so much the flock of Christ, as the pastors themselves, devouring them with their wives and children, and all their substance; but also those snarling Curs and mad Dogs, that have fastened their *venomous teeth* upon the true Servants of God, shall *have their day*. Among whom, take heed lest thou be found, who hast two knowne properties of a *Cur*, to *bark at the cleare* light, and to *file* in the best and cleanest swept roome. Thou art not content to traduce and vilifie the Reverend and Learned Clergie, and spot and staine the prime Nobilitie and Gentrie of the Kingdome, but like the Serpent *Ptyas*, thou *spittest venome* at Majestie it selfe; and therefore mayest expect for thy deserts, without any ambition, the highest preferment of * *Haman* or *Cnipperdoling*. It is reported of a late Lidger Embassadour at *Venice*, that he wrote with the poynt of a Diamond in Glasse this definition of an Embassadour, *An Embassadour is an honourable Spye, sent by the State to lye for the good of the Common-wealth.* I hold this definition of an Embassadour in generall to have too much in it *mordacis veritatis*, of tart truth: but he should doe thee, and thy three Brethren in iniquitie, (all of the *Bastard* brood of *Maia*) right, who should define you *base Spyes, hired to invent and vent Lyes through the whole Kingdome, for the good of the Cause.* For what is your weekly

Stalig. contra Lyid. In locis nitidissimis olidum penit.

* The one was hanged on a Gallowes fifty cubits high, the other in a Cage on the highest Tower in Munster.

Civicus. Scaticus. Gallicus.

ly imployment but to ſmother the cleare truth of all proceedings at Court, and ſet a varniſh upon all the Machiavillian cheats, unchriſtian practices, and horrible out-rages committed by the Plunderers and their complices in the Citie? Howbeit, becauſe *Urbanus* hath taken thee to taske for thy *ſcandalum magnatum*, of which thou art like one day to *heare without an eare*: I ſhall diſcipline thee at this preſent onely for opening thy *foule mouth* upon a late Member of the Aſſembly, whoſe hands thou knoweſt are ſo tyed, that he cannot wipe away the *froth* of thy impure diſcourſe, which thus *driveleth* from thee.

SECT. III.

Six Untruths uttered by Britanicus *in three Lines; the true cauſe why* D. F. *was voted out of the Aſſembly.*

"IT is briefly mentioned before, who was an Intelligencer to *Ox-* *Mer. Brit. pag.* 47.
"*ford* of paſſages in the Aſſembly, now a word more of it: That
"grave Doctor, I meane Doctor *Featley*, that held correſponden-
"cie with the Biſhop of *Armagh*, and informed his *Iriſh* grace
"how much His Majeſty was beholding to him for his intelligence,
"and upon the whole matter deſires his grace to move the King to
"conferre upon him the Deanerie of *Weſtminſter*. The Letter it
"ſelfe was intercepted, all of his owne hand writing, and he ac-
"knowledged it.

Lingua in udo eſt & facilè labitur, the tongue is ſeated in a *moyſt place* and eaſily ſlips; this is ſeene by thee, *Britanicus*, whoſe tongue hath ſlipt ſix times within the ſhort ſpace of three Lines.

Firſt, Thou ſayſt that the Doctor held correſpondence with his *Iriſh* grace by Letters, whereas the Doctor never received Letter from the Primate of *Armagh*, during the time of his abode in the Aſſembly.

Secondly, Thou makeſt a hideous noyſe and great racket about a Letter written to his grace, but intercepted; Whereas it was no Letter in truth and proprietie of ſpeech, but a note unſealed without any indorſment or date, and that note alſo drawne from the Doctor by a wile, by one who at this preſent is Suttler to the Trained Band at S. *Albans*.

Thirdly, thou sayest, the Doctor informed his grace what good service he had done the King this Parliament; whereas there is never a word in that Letter or Note of any service done to His Majestie, but a meere complaint of unsufferable wrongs offered the Doctor by the Parliament Souldiers, who plundered him both at *Acton* and *Lambeth*.

Fourthly, thou impudently affirmest, that he desired his grace to move the King to conferre upon him the Deanerie of *Westminster*; whereas the words in the originall Letter not falsified are, that his grace would put in for himselfe, that he might hold it as a *Commendam* with the Administratorship of *Carlile*, as the Archbishop of *Yorke* held it before.

Fifthly, thou sayest, that the Doctor wrote all this pretended Letter with his owne hand, whereas he wrote never a Line of it with his owne hand, but dictated to another.

Sixthly, thou blushest not to say, that the Doctor acknowledged the Letter examined before the Committee to be his owne, whereas that was but a false transcript, and never so much as shewed to the Doctor, much lesse acknowledged by him to be true. Thou wilt say then, if neither the originall now at *Oxford*, nor the transcript was exhibited to the Doctor, nor any witnesse at all produced to make faith, either that the originall being unsealed was not corrupted, or that this transcript perfectly accorded with the originall, neither could be any evidence against the Doctor; how then came it to passe that he was blowne out of the Assembly, and both his Livings, by one blast of *Euroclydon*? I could answer as *Erasmus* did to the Emperour, who demanded of him what he thought of *Martin Luther*, a man so much cryed *up and downe* in the world; *up* among the reformed, but *downe* in the Popish Church: Truely, quoth *Erasmus*, he is a worthy and able Divine, and otherwise irreproveable, onely he was too blame in two things.

First, That he touched the Popes triple Crowne.

Secondly, The Monkes belly, which were two *Noli me tangere's*: so the Doctor, though otherwise he went with a right foot, and kept pace with those of his ranke, yet in two things he tript.

First, In the great debate about the three Creeds, he sided with the Presbyterians against the Independents.

Secondly, When the new Covenant was first offered to the Assembly, he openly and professedly opposed it, and endeavoured to prove, that all the Divines that were wrapt in that new bond,

were

were intangled in perjurie by breaking their Oathes of canonicall obedience. For this, the Independents accounted him a *Malignant*, and the Presbyterians *confided* not in him. Beſides, our Polititians that have beene brought up at the feet of the great *Gamaliel* in Philoſophie, *Ariſtotle*, taking upon them the defence of *Oſtraciſme* (never more practiſed then now, even by thoſe who underſtand not what the word ſignifies) teach us, that though a man have a *cleare breſt* and ſtrong voyce, yet if it be not tunable, or his Note be ſo loud, that hee drowneth the reſt in the Conſort, it is fit he ſhould be put out of the Quire. And truely, *Britanicus*, that needed not, for though he were Voted into it by 390 voyces, yet he never voted himſelfe into it, but often wiſhed himſelfe out of it, not becauſe he was averſe from Synods, as the learnedeſt of the *Greeke* Fathers (Sir-named the Divine) was, who obſerved in his time, that he never ſaw good end of any ſuch Aſſemblies; but becauſe this Aſſembly was not called by the ſound of *Moſes* his *Silver trumpet*, neither were the *Members* thereof elected or nominated by the *bodie* of the Clergie, neither have they any deciſive, but onely conſultive, and deliberative ſuffrages. In which regard, he conceived that he might doe more hurt to himſelfe by his preſence there, then good to others by his aſſiſtance. And therefore when he heard, that like a Candle hee was *blowne in and out* with the ſame *breath*, hee paſt not at all for it, deeming himſelfe neither a gainer by the one, nor looſer by the other.

SECT. IIII.

How D. F. *his Livings came to be ſequeſtred, and why.*

BUt his Livings touched him more neerely, and to the quicke: The Sequeſtration from the Aſſembly made him but ſpeechleſſe there, where for the moſt part he was but a *Mute* before, but the ſequeſtration of his Benefices made him *liveleſſe*, or rather according to the Apoſtles phraſe, *twice dead and plucke up by the roots*: For as good upon the matter to be dead, as deprived of all meanes of livelihood. Thou wilt ſay, admit his voyce in the Aſſembly were *Malignant*; yet ſurely neither his Bookes nor his Livings were ſo. I grant it, yet ſome caſt a *Malignant* eye at them, they were like a *Pinne* and a *Web* in the eye of Envie, they were two good Bene-

fices conveniently ſeated neere *London*; the one hath a good friend of the Ayre, the other of the Thames; and therefore the Mouth of ſome of the Aſſembly watered after them, one of the Aſſeſſors, *M. W.* muſt have a convenient ſeat, and M. *Nye* muſt be denyed nothing: and becauſe *intus apparens prohibet extraneum*, that they might be inducted, the Dr. muſt be outed: Neither want there preſidents for it; *Fundus Albanus* in *Italy*, and *Nabals* Vineyard in *Iezreel* are *ruling caſes* for it. Yea, but where are the men of *Belial* to teſtifie that the Dr. blaſphemed the Parliament, and their Ordinances? they were ready at the Committee for plundred Miniſters, namely *Andrewes* the Botcher, and *Sharpe* the Cobler, theſe prevailed ſo far with 4 of the Committee, that *April* the 23, the Dr. was voted out of his living at *Lambeth*, though ſix eminent and worthy Members of the Parliament there preſent (but not of the Committee) ſhewed great diſlike of this Cenſure, and one of them ſaid "That it had bin better for the Dr. to have fallen into "the hands of the high Commiſſion, or Popiſh Inquiſition, then that Committee. But *ſalvares eſt*, the ſentence of foure men was reverſed in open Parliament by 80 at leaſt, who acquitted the Dr. and now he is ſetled in both his Benefices and lockt faſt into the Aſſembly, and the ſeparatiſts and ſchiſmaticall Recuſants at *Lambeth*, (who the 23 of *April*, after the Dr. was ſentenced, kept a great Feaſt, like to that of the *Perſians*, called *Magophonia*, at which, firſt they prayed themſelves out of their ſences, and after dranke themſelves out of their wits) now mourne in the *chine*, their ſhort wits are at an end, they know not what to doe, and therefore for 3 moneths they ſit downe by the loſſe: but afterwards *felix caſus ſe immiſcuit arti*, an occaſion is offered to effect that by an engine, which they could not doe with cleane ſtrength. It was reported at *London* and at *Lambeth*, by ſome that came from *Oxford*, that the Dr. was *loſt at Court*, by reaſon of his repairing ſo uſually to the Aſſembly of Divines, and concurring with them in their reſolves: upon this, they who before lay in wait for the Doctor, worke, and a Felt-maker in the *Borough*, a great ſtickler for the new Reformation, is ſent to the Doctor, with a pretended meſſage from the Primate of *Armagh*, that his Majeſty was very much offended with the Doctors complying with the Aſſembly, and that he charged him upon high diſpleaſure never more to meet with the Divines in *Henry* the 7ths Chappell. At this the Dr. being much appaled and troubled, not knowing how to ſteer his courſe betweene the *Sym-*

Annal. Tacit. lib. 12. Agrippina Statilium Taurum hortis ejus inhians pervertit.

Juſtin. lib. 1. Perſæ feſtum celebrant ob necem Magorum, dictum, Μαγοφόνια.

Armiger Warner.

plegades,

plegades, nor obey the contrary commands of two ſuch maſters, the Meſſenger put him in ſome comfort, ſaying, that a word of the Primates to the King would ſet all right, and that the next morning, being Saturday, hee was to take his journey to *Oxford*, and that if the Dr. would write two or three lines to his Grace, and acquaint him with ſome late paſſages of the Aſſembly, with his deſire to get leave of his Majeſty to continue his attendance there, till he might upon faire tearmes withdraw himſelfe, he ingaged himſelfe deepely that he would bring an anſwer from the Primate the *Tueſday* following. Upon this overture, the Dr. very deſirous to take the firſt opportunity to make his peace with the KING, dictated a letter, or rather a note which he read to the Meſſenger, demanding of him whether he thought there was any matter of offence or danger in it, and if there were, he wiſhed him utterly to ſuppreſſe it; the Meſſenger anſwered, that there neither was, nor could be any danger in it, for it was a note onely unſealed and contained no ſecrets in it, but the open and knowne reſolves of the Aſſembly. Whereupon the Dr. truſted him with it, but heard no Anſwer till ſome weekes after. In the meane while, the Meſſenger ſhews this note to diverſe, and cloſeth with the Committee, who tooke a Copy of it, but diſpatched him away with the Originall to *Oxford*, whereupon hee bringeth backe an anſwer from the Primate: upon his returne he is committed for a few dayes, but ſince preferred to a gainfull place in the Armie: ſo his turne was ſerved, but the Doctor turned out of houſe and home, ſequeſtred, plundred, and libelled in all the triobulary paſquils printed the firſt and ſecond weeke of *October*. 1643.

Being thus as you heard, made an Intelligencer to *Oxford*, he is cenſured by them who made him ſo, in the higheſt degree. And now the Vulturs hover over the carkaſſe of his eſtate: one (*a*) ſeizeth upon his Living at *Lambeth*; another (*b*) upon his Benefice at *Aſton*; a third (*c*) upon his Books; a fourth (*d*) upon his proviſions; a fifth (*e*) upon his goods and houſehold-ſtuffe: and thou, *Britanicus*, here gotteſt ſtore of *Gall* and *Coppres* to put in thine Inke; which, if ever God open thy eyes, to ſee thy error, thou wilt *mingle* with thy teares: For he was a great *One* that ſaid it, *Whoſoever offendeth one of theſe little ones, even the leaſt in the Kingdome of God*, that is, the Miniſterie of the Goſpel, *it were better that a milſtone were hanged about his neck, and he caſt into the Sea.* Is this the puritie of preciſe Zeale? Are theſe the diſtilled Spirits of Chriſtianitie?

(*a*) *M white of Dorcheſt.*
(*b*) *M. Nye*
(*c*) *M. Ben,*
(*d*) *M Cooke.*
(*e*) *Andrew Kerwin.*

To

To beautifie the Temple of God, by *damming up the lights* thereof? To lay *traps* in their wayes, who *guide our feet into the way of peace*? To make men Delinquents, and then to perſecute them with all ſeverity? Is this the piety of this age, for the flocks of Chriſt to betray their Paſtours to ravening Wolves; to ſtrengthen the Armes of *Brownists* and baſe miſcreants againſt learned, painfull, and Orthodox Divines; to take Oath upon Oath, and enter into Covenant after Covenant, to maintaine and ſupport the true reformed Religion, and yet to ſupplant, and upon forged Cavillations overthrow the knowne Champions thereof? *O ubi eſtis fontes lachrymarum?* Oh where are yee! fountains of teares.

Sect. V.

That the Doctor was no Intelligencer or Spie.

Brit. p. 45. "M. *Aulicus*, wee have traced your Intelligence from the Par-
" liament to the Aſſemblie, and found your *Mercurie* in the
" habit of a Doctor, but he confeſſed the hope of a Deanerie ſedu-
" ced him.

Anſ. Nay, rather we have traced a cunning Merchant from the *Beare* at *Bridge-foot* to *Kennington*, from *Kennington* to the cloſe Committee, from the cloſe Committee to *Oxford*, from *Oxford* to the Court of Wards, and from thence to the Leaguer at Saint *Albans*: *Egregiam verò laudem*, let it be recorded to the everlaſting prayſe of the agents that beare themſelves upon the cloſe Committee, that by fraud and falſehood they have entrapped Simplicitie, betrayed Loyaltie; and rewarded Treacherie; before they put the Doctor into the habit of an Intelligencer, they transformed themſelves into Angels of light. As for the Doctors confeſſing, *that the hope of a Deanerie ſeduced him*, thy word will be taken for no more then thy weekely intelligence brings thee in; produce but one witneſſe for it, though as *copped a Round-head* as thy ſelfe, and I will confeſſe thee to be an honeſt man. But thou haſt a Patent to Lye; and whatſoever thou printeſt in thy weekly *Currants*, though never ſo groſſely abſur'd and palpably falſe, after thou haſt got M. *Whites* hand to it, no man can ſay, *black is thine eye*.

Yea, but the Doctor is charged to be a Spie and Intelligencer to *Oxford*, by the report made to the Houſe of Commons, which here followeth.

"A Letter

" A Letter of Doctor *Featley's* intercepted, going to *Oxford* to " the Primate of *Armagh*, wherin were contained great imputati- " ons upon the proceedings of the Aſſembly, and diverſe Members " both of the Aſſembly and Parliament, whereby it appeares that " he is a *Spie* and Intelligencer to *Oxford*: The Letter was read " before the Committee, and the Doctor called to his Anſwer, " who confeſſed all the materiall points in it, &c. *Septemb.* 29. " 1643.

This report of the Chaire-man, may be reduced to this Syllogiſme.

Whoſoever ſends a Letter to the Primate of Armagh, *containing great imputations upon the Members of the Aſſembly and Parliament, is a Spie and Intelligencer to* Oxford, *and ought to be deprived of both his Livings, Bookes, and Libertie.*

But the Doctor ſent a Letter to the Primate of Armagh, *&c.*

Ergo, *he ought to be deprived of his Livings, Bookes, and Libertie*; as it followeth there in the Sentence.

Here the Concluſion is in *Ferio*, or in *Bocardo* rather. But the premiſſes are both falſe, and it will coſt the Reporter hot water to make good either of them.

The name of a Mood in the third Figure, and alſo of a a Priſon.

For firſt, the originall Lettet, was never ſhewed to the Doctor, nor acknowledged by him, nor any witneſſe produced, to teſtifie that it was written by him; and therefore can be no evidence againſt him in any Court where *Aſtrea* ſits.

Ovid. Metam. l. 1. terras Aſtræa reliquit. See the gentle Laſh, p. 5.

Secondly, The Tranſcript upon which the Committee proceeded, diſagreeth with the originall in diverſe materiall points, as is proved elſewhere: Neither was there any Faith at all made before the Doctor, to convince him, that the Letter read before the Committee was a true Tranſcript.

Thirdly, in that Letter there was no imputation, great or ſmall, layd upon the Members of the Aſſembly, or Parliament; unleſſe it be an imputation to ſay, That the *Prolocutors* dayly prayer was the beſt and trueſt *Diurnall*, for that he had a ſpeciall gift to pray, not ſo much *ex tempore* as *de tempore*.

Fourthly, The great *imputations* ſpoken of, wee deſire that the Reporter, for his *reputation* ſake, would ſpecifie: For either they were true, or falſe: If they were true, why are not the Members of the Aſſembly and Parliament queſtioned, and puniſhed for them? if they were falſe, why was not the Doctor put to his proofe, and in

caſe he failed, cenſured as a ſlanderer? *There's a Pad in the Straw; Aliquid latet quod non patet.*

Fifthly, To ſend a Letter from one Member of the Aſſembly to another, is not to be a Spie or Intelligencer to the adverſe partie: But ſuch a one was the Primate of *Armagh*, not onely a Member of the Aſſembly, choſen by the joynt Votes of the whole Houſe of Commons, but a Member at that time in ſuch grace with the Aſſembly, that he was often alledged with great honour and reſpect both by the Aſſeſſors and others, eſpecially in debating the Article of Chriſts deſcent into Hell.

Sixtly, μία χελιδὼν ἔαρ οὐ ποιεῖ, one Swallow makes not a Summer, nor one act a habit, nor one link a Chain, nor one flowet a garland, nor one rotten grain a corrupt Pomegranat; nor doth one Letter ſent to *Wickham*, lying in the Road to *Oxon*, make a Spie or Intelligencer to *Oxford*, and more then one Letter the Doctor never dictated, and that alſo intercepted; how then can he be a Spie? For the Letter intercepted could give no intelligence to *Oxon*, being ſtayed at *London*.

Seventhly, Reſolves of a Synod and concluſions *de fide*, are no ſecrets of State; neither is the impartting of them to a moſt religious, learned, and every way accompliſhed Biſhop, betraying ſecrets to an enemie, but conſulting an *Oracle* in Theologicall diſputes of as great difficultie as moment.

Eightly, Whereas it is ſaid, that the Doctor confeſſed all the materiall points in the tranſcript, it is moſt untrue: for the main and onely materiall point concerning aſperſions layd upon Members of the Aſſembly and Parliament, was never ſo much as put to the Doctor, much leſſe confeſſed by him; and for the truth hereof, he appealeth to the whole Committee for Examinations.

Laſtly, to return to thee, Sir *Britanicus*, *Civicus*, or *Scoticus*, for thou art a man *omnium nominum & horarum*; tell me in good earneſt, what is the Trade, or Profeſſion, or Myſterie, whereby thou liveſt? Is it not to be a Citie-*Spie*, and Intelligencer? And why may it not be as lawfull for the Doctor to ſend *Theologicall Truths* to *Oxford*, as for thee every week *Civill Lyes* to all parts of the Kingdom? And becauſe it is ſaid, thou art either *Cornutus*, or *Cornificius*, I very much entreat thee, in the laſt place, to diſſolve this *Dilemma* or *Cornutum argumentum*.

Either

Either the Letter ſent by the Doctor to the Primate of *Armagh*, contained in it matter of offence and ſcandall, or not; *Ad partes*, which of the horns wilt thou take? hold off; if thou ſayeſt the Letter contained no matter of offence or ſcandall, thou ſayeſt *juſt* nothing in the defence of the juſtice of the Committee or Parliament; if thou ſayeſt that it contained any juſt matter of offence or ſcandall, and in that regard ought not to have been publiſhed, to the diſgrace of the Aſſembly or Parliament: Why did not thoſe of the cloſe Committee, when it was in their hands ſuppreſſe it? Why did they ſend the originall Letter to *Oxford*, whereby it is now made publique, and expoſed to the view of all men? Certainly, if the bare ſending of that Letter to *Oxford*, make a man a Spie and Intelligencer, and guiltie of I know not what *capitall* Crime, as S. *Auſtine* argued againſt the Devills ambiguous oracles, *Sors ipſa referenda eſt ad ſortem*, ſo I may truely ſay, and make it good by the *Recorders logick*, and the Parliaments *Cenſure*, that thoſe of the *cloſe Committee*, who after they had peruſed the Letter and taken a Copie, delivered it to the Meſſenger to conveigh it with all ſpeed to *Oxford*, deſerve to be *cloſe committed*, and ſent by the Serjeant at Arms *Petri ad vincula*. *O utinam! nec enim lex juſtior ulla eſt, quam necis artifices arte perire ſuâ.*

Sect. VI.

Aulicus truely relates the Doctors reaſons alleadged againſt the New Covenant, in the open Aſſemblie.

"HE tells us of Doctor *Featley's* exception againſt our Oath, "he framed ſome wiſhed reaſons and arguments, and pinned "them on the Doctors ſleeve and would make them his, but they "are not ſatisfactorie enough. *Brit. pag.* 67.

I pray thee, *Britanicus*, ſhew us the long *Pinne* wherewith he *pinned* thoſe reaſons to the Doctors ſleeve, reaching from *Chriſt-Church* or *All-Souls* in *Oxford*, to *Peter-houſe* in *London*; and becauſe thy brow is made of the ſame *Metall* with that *Pinne*, go boldly to the houſe of Peers, and enquire of the Lord *Say* and *Wharton*, and after into the houſe of Commons, and demand of M. *Rouſe* and *White*, and laſtly into the Aſſemblie, and ask of M. *Caſe* *Anſ.*

M. *Case* and *Calamie*, whether the Doctor did not openly propound those reasons in the Assemblie a fortnight before, that so often *produced* and much *traduced* Letter was sent to the Primate of *Armagh*, out of which *Aulicus* transcribed those reasons *verbatim*. Yea, but these reasons are not *sufficient enough*, they were sufficient enough to convince them who took the Oath, and to confound thee, *Britanicus*: if they were insufficient, why all this while hast not thou or some of them discovered the weakneſse and insufficiencie of them?

The Doctor could have alleadged many other reasons, both against the Covenant in generall, and that clause in particular, which may be in due time produced after the former reasons have been any way impeached or infringed by any colourable answer: till then thy silence, and theirs whom it so deeply concerns to dissolve them, as that they may disingage themselves from perjurie, argues plainly they are to you unanswerable.

Sect. VII.

Divers remarkable passages in the Assemblie of Divines, related in the Letter to the Primate of Armagh.

BEcause this Letter, or rather unsealed advertisement, sent to an eminent Member of the Assemblie, hath beene made as a *Match* anoynted with the *Brimstone* of the Adversaries malice, to kindle a fire of envie against the Doctor, which hath consumed his whole estate, and dazled the eyes of many of his Friends in the Assemblie, that they could not look upon him any more as a faithfull Fellow-builder, but rather as a *deceitfull Work-man*. I will here truly acquaint thee, Reader, with all those passages in that Letter, that any way reflect on the Assemblie.

After an *Encomium* of the Prolocutor for his speciall gift of praying, not so much *ex tempore*, as *de tempore*, rather to fish out the learned Archbishops judgement in those controverted poynts, then to satisfie his curiositie, the Doctor related three great disputes which held the Assemblie many days. The first, concerning the eighth Article of Religion; the second, concerning the eleventh; the third, concerning the second clause in the New Covenant. The first,

firſt, whether thoſe words in the Article, (*The three Creeds ought throughly to be received and beleeved*) might ſtand. The ſecond, whether in the definition of juſtification, the imputation of Chriſts active obedience as well as his paſſive ought to be mentioned. The third, whether thoſe words in the New Covenant, *I will endeavour the extirpation of Poperie* and *Prelacie, that is, government by Archbiſhops, Biſhops, &c*, ſhall paſſe without any qualification or addition of the words *papall* or *tyrannicall* or *independent*. The Aſſemblie voted affirmatively in all three, the Doctor in the two former concurred with them, but diſſented in the latter: upon what grounds he concurred in the former and diſſented in the latter, the enſuing Speeches made in the Aſſemblie will declare.

The firſt Speech concerning the eighth Article, before the Aſſemblie of DIVINES.

M. Prolocutor,

"THat we may not *Penelopes telam texere & retexere*, doe and undoe; and that it may not be ſaid "of our votes, as *Charles* the fifth ſpake ſometimes of the "decrees at their Diets, that they were like Vipers, the "*latter always deſtroying the former*; What I ſhall humblie offer to this Aſſemblie, ſhall be in confirmation "of our laſt vote concerning the three Creeds, read in "our Church. The exception of ſome of our learned "Brethren, are taken either at the *titles*, or the Creeds "themſelves: Againſt the *titles*, that the *Nicene* Creed is "in truth the *Conſtantinopolitane*; that the *Creed* which goeth "under the name of *Athanaſius*, was either made by *Anaſtaſius*, as ſome affirm, or *Euſebius Vercellenſis*, as our incomparable *Jewell* relates. Certainly *Meletius* the Patriarch "of *Conſtantinople*, in his Epiſtle to *Iohn Donſa* reſolves "negatively, *Athanaſio falſo aſcriptum ſymbolum cum appendice*

Apol. Eccl. Ang. p. 2. c. 1. divi. 1.

"*dice illo Romanorum Pontificum adulteratum luce lucidius con-*
"*testamur*: we conteſt that it is cleerer than day light,
"that this Creed is falſely father'd upon *Athanaſius*,
"and is adulterated by the adding of a clauſe inſerted by
"the *Roman* Biſhop; and for that which is called the
"Apoſtles Creed, the father who ſo *chriſtened* it is un-
"known. Hereunto I anſwer, that though the entire
"Creed, which is read in our Churches, under the name
"of the *Nicen*, be found *totidem verbis* in the *Conſtantino-*
"*politane*; yet it may be truely called the *Nicen*, becauſe
"the greateſt part of it is taken out of that of *Nice*. And
"howſoever, ſome doubt whether *Athanaſius* were the au-
"thor of that Creed which beares his name, yet the
"greater number of the learned of latter ages intitle him
"to it; and though peradventure he framed it not him-
"ſelf, yet it is moſt agreeable to his doctrine, and ſee-
"meth to be drawn out of his works, and in that regard
"may be rightly tearmed his Creed. And for the third
"Creed, although I beleeve not, that either the Apoſtles
"joyntly or ſeverally dictated it: yet I ſubſcribe to
"*Calvins* judgement, who ſaith, that it was a ſummarie
"of the Chriſtian Faith, extant in the Apoſtles dayes,
"and approved of by them. Howſoever, according to the
"rule of *Ariſtotle*, *Loquendum cum vulgo, licet ſentiendum*
"*cum ſapientibus*, we muſt uſe the language of the vulgar,
"though we vote with wiſe men, and think as they doe.
"And certaine it is, theſe three Creeds, for many hun-
"dreds of years, have generally paſſed under the titles
"of the *Nicen*, the *Athanaſian*, and the Apoſtles. So much
"for the *titles*. Againſt the Creeds themſelves, the ex-
"ceptions which are taken, either concern the form
"of propounding the Articles, or the matter and do-
"ctrine of them; concerning the manner of propound-
"ing them, it is objected to be in too peremptorie a
"way,

"way, *under paine of damnation*, and that they *ought to be* "*thoroughly beleeved.* To the former I anſwer with *Leo*, "where it is ſaid, *Whoſoever holds not this Creed, ſhall periſh* "*everlaſtingly*; It is underſtood of ſuch as have capacity "to underſtand it, and their conſciences are convinced of "the truth of it. To the latter, that *thoroughly* to beleeve "it, ſignifies no more then *throughout*, and entirely, and "that not for the authoritie of the Creeds themſelves, "but for the Scripture by which they are confirmed. "The exceptions againſt the matter or doctrine of the "Creeds, either concern the firſt Article, *God of God*, "or the Article about the *deſcent into hell*. For the firſt, "there can be no doubt at all of it, for the Sonne is of "the Father, and therefore the Father and Sonne "being God, it muſt needs follow, that Chriſt is God "of God, neither will it hence follow, that the Deitie "of the Sonne is of the Deity of the Father. For the ar- "gument holdeth not *a concreto ad abſtractum, verbi gra-* "*tia*, it will not follow, *Deus paſſus eſt, ergo deitas paſſa* "*eſt*, God ſuffered, *ergo* the deity ſuffered: nor this, "*Maria eſt mater Dei, ergo eſt mater deitatis*; Mary is the "mother of God, *ergo* ſhe is mother of the Deity. Yea "but *Calvin* ſaith, Chriſt is *autotheos*, God of himſelfe; "the anſwer is eaſie, Chriſt is God of himſelfe, *ratione* "*eſſentiæ*, but God of God, *ratione perſonæ*. And where- "as it is objected, that if he be *Deus de Deo*, it muſt be ei- "ther *per productionem eſſentiæ*, or *communicationem*; by "the production, or communication of the eſſence: "though *Beza*, and other of our Divines ſtick not at "the latter phraſe, yet it followeth not; for it is ſuffi- "cient to prove him God of God, that his perſon is "generated of the Father, and it is ſafer to ſay that hee "hath *communem eſſentiam cum patre*, then *communicatam*. "rather common then communicated. For the latter,

Vid. Voſſium de 36 Symbo- lis.

concerning

" concerning descent into Hell, all the Christi-
" ans in the world acknowledge, that CHRIST some
" way descended into hell, either locally, as many of the
" ancient fathers, *Latimer*, the martyr, *Bilson* and *An-*
" *drews*, and *Noel* in his catechism (commanded to be
" taught in all Schools, soon after the publishing the
" 39 Articles expound it) or vertually as *Durand*, or
" metaphorically as *Calvin*, or metonymically as *Tile-*
" *nus*, *Perkins*, and this Assembly; and therefore no man
" need to make scruple of subscribing to the Article, as
" it stands in the creed, seeing it is capable of so many
" orthodoxall explications, and therein I desire that
" this Assembly in their aspersions would (after the ex-
" ample of the harmony of confessions) content them-
" selves with branding onely the popish exposition of
" this Article, which taketh hell for *limbus patrum*, or
" purgatory (Netherland regions, *extra anni solisque vias*)
" for any of the other foure interpretations, they are
" so far from being Hereticall, that it hath not bin pro-
" ved that any of them is erroneous.

Mr. Prolocutor,

The second Speech, to the eighth Article.

" THough there is nothing more tender then Con-
" science, every *scrupulus* there is more painful then
" *furculus in carne* a thorn in the flesh; & though nothing
" ought more now to be sought after, when not only *Christs*
" *seamlesse coat*, but his *mysticall body* is rent & torn asun-
" der, then ἀναδέσθαι ἐν ἀγάπῃ, and ἀγαπᾶν ἐν ἀναδέσει to seek
" the truth in love, and love in truth; and therfore I shal
" be most willing to any kind of reason able *explication*,
" condescending, to give satisfaction to our learned bre-
" thren: yet on the other side, they may doe well to

think

" think of that *maxime* in the canon law, *turpis pars quæ*
" *discordat toti*, it is an unsound part which differs from
" the whole body, and not *nodos in scirpo quærere*, to ex-
" cept against undoubted verities, and most warrantable
" expressions, such as have bin debated in this Article;
" namely, *Deus de Deo, & symbola recipi debere*: for these
" are the *lapides offensionis*, rocks of offence.
" That Christ is *Deus de Deo*, God of God, is thus cleer-
" ly proved out of Scripture: whosoever is God and the
" Son of God, must needs be God of God; but Christ
" is God and the Son of God, *ergo &c.* But it hath bin
" objected, if he be God of God, then he must have his
" essence communicated to him from the Father, and
" so be *essentiatus a patre*, essentiated, or natured from
" the Father: this will not follow, no more then that
" *Socrates* is *essentiatus a Sophroniſco*, but onely that he is
" *genitus a patre*, begotten of his Father, and so is *reci-*
" *piens essentiam*, or *habens essentiam communicatam a patre*;
" which manner of speech is approved of by *Beza*, *filius est* Act 14 Trin.
" *a patre per ineffabilem totius essentiæ communicationem ab* In ep. ad Polon.
" *æterno*: the Son is from the Father by an unspeakable
" communication of his whole essence from eternity:
" and *Symlerus*, *non negamus filium habere essentiam a Deo*
" *patre, sed essentiam genitam negamus*: we do not deny
" that the Son hath his essence from God the Father, but
" we deny that the essence is begotten, and why should
" we boggle at this phrase, when our Lord himself ac- Iohn 5. 26.
" knowledgeth, *Ioh.* 5. 26. *omnia mihi data sunt a patre meo,*
" *& pater dedit filio habere vitam in se*, all things are given
" me of my Father? Neither doth this any way contra-
" dict *Calvin* his *autotheos*, God of himself; which form
" of expression, though some protestants as well as pa-
" pists have excepted against, yet I am of *Whitakers*
" mind, in his answer to the 7th reason of *Campian*, that

" it is *verissime & sanctissime dictum*, most truly and reli-
Hom. de temp. 88. " giously spoken; *nam si ex se Deus non est, omnino Deus* " *non est*: for if he be not God of himself, he is not God " at all: let St *Augustine* be the umpire, and reconcile " both, *Christus ad se Deus, dicitur ad patrem filius*; Christ " may be considered two wayes, either absolutely, and " so he is *Deus ex se*, God of himself, as the Father is " and the holy Spirit; or relatively, as *filius*, and so he " is *Deus de Deo*, as he is the Son, so he is God of God: " yea but these phrases may be taken in an ill sense, and " so may all the Articles of the Creed, as you may see in " the Parisian censure set out by the Jesuits, nay so may " the whole Scripture, as St *Peter* teacheth us, which " ἀστήρικτοι στρεβλοῦσιν the ignorant & unstable pervert: what then, " must we weed up all the flowers of Paradise, because " hereticks, like spiders, suck such juice out of them " which they turn into poyson?

" 2. For the other expression [*ought to be received*] as I " conceive, it may be thus justified. Whatsoever articles " may be firmly and evidently proved out of scripture, " *ought to be received* and *beleeved*, art. 6. But such are all " the articles of these three Creeds, *ergo &c.* 2. Those " to whose office and function it belongs, to declare and " teach the people of God, what they may and ought " to receive and beleeve, may use this expression. But it " appertains to the office of the Pastors of the " Church, especially met at a Synod for that end, to " teach the people of God what they ought to receive " and believe, *ergo &c.* 3. That form of words which " hath bin used in Synods, held in the purest times, and " is at this day used, not only in the harmony of all " protestant confessions (as was shewed by a learned " brother) but every day in most approved sermons, may " be reteined. But such is this form, *recipi & credi debere*,

" ought

" ought to be received and beleeved, *ergo*, *concil. Carth.* 1. " *Cæcilius a Bilta dixit*, *quam rem fugere ac* vitare debe- " mus, *& a tanto scelere nos separare*, said, which thing we " ought to shun and avoyd, and to keep our selves from " so great a sin: *Concil. Elib. can.* 12. *Lapsi in hæresin ad* " *ecclesiam recurrentes incunctanter* recipi debent; *pœniten-* " *tia iis* non est deneganda. *Concil. Neo. can.* 1. Those " that are fallen into heresie, returning to the Church, " ought readily to be received, repentance is not to be " denyed unto them. *Presbyter mœchus ab ecclesia* pelli " debet, an incontinent presbyter *ought* to be driven from " the church. *Conc. Laod.* quod non oporteat *angelos* " *invocari*, that we ought not to call upon Angels. *& can.* " 59. quod non oporteat *libros non canonicos legi in eccle-* " *sia*, that books that are not canonicall, *ought* not to be " read in church. But our acute and learned brother " demandeth, *quo fide recipiendi sint hi articuli, ecclesiastica* " *an divina*? with what kind of faith, humane or divine? " I answer, at the first propounding of them, if we have " nothing to say against them *fide ecclesiastica*, or *humana*, " by a humane faith, or the faith of the church, out of " reverence to our mother the church; but after we have " examined them and compared them with Scriptures, " then *fide divina*, by a divine faith: as the *Samaritans* at " the first believed, *fide humana* by a humane faith, upon " the relation of the woman; but afterwards, when they " heard Christ himself, and saw his miracles, *fide di-* " *vina*.

The first Speech concerning the eleventh ARTICLE.

M. Prolocutor,

"THere are two sorts of things which are not defined "without great difficulty, things of the highest, "and of the lowest nature; the former can hardly be "defined in regard of their exceeding perfection, the "latter for their extream imperfection: of the former "no definition is capable, the latter are capable of no "exact definition, but only some imperfect description: "and therefore as *Aristotle* defines *materia prima*, the first "matter, by meer negations, *quod nec quid, nec quantum, nec "quale*, neither substance, nor quantitie, nor qualitie, &c. "So *Plato* defines God, that he is οὔτε σῶμα, οὔτε χρῶμα, neither "body nor colour, &c. To this later kind we may well "referre justification, of which we read that high di- "vinitie in the *Bohemian* Confession, *Hoc caput doctrinæ ex "omnibus apud nos pro maximo & gravissimo capite habitur, "ut in quo summa evangelii posita est, & quo christianismus "fundatur, & in quo preciosus nobilissimusque thesaurus salu- "tis æternæ, unica & viva consolatio divinis comprehendi- "tur*: this is the chief head of doctrine, in which "consists the sum of the whole Gospell, &c. This "excellencie of the subject notwithstanding ought "not to dull the edge of our most diligent search into "it, but sharpen it rather, to endeavour so to *define justi- "fication*, that wee may *justifie our definition*. Which wee "cannot doe, without distinguishing of a three-fold "righteousnesse: first, a perfect righteousnesse, but not "inherent; of which, 2 *Cor.* 5. 21. secondly, inherent, "but not perfect; of which, *Luke* 1. 75. and *Apoc.* 22.

"11. third-

" 11. thirdly, perfect and inherent; of which, *Heb.* 12.
" 23. The first, is the righteousnesse by which wee are
" justified; the second, by which wee are sanctified; and
" the third, by which wee are glorified. The first con-
" sisteth as well of Christs active as his passive obedi-
" ence, and in the imputation thereof by faith consisteth
" the essence of our justification, which may be thus de-
" fined: *an act of God, whereby he acquitteth every penitent*
" *and beleeving sinner, by not imputing to him his sins, and*
" *imputing to him the perfect satisfaction and righteousnesse*
" *of Christ*. Every part of this definition may be proved
" by clear testimonies of Scripture; and besides, it hath
" that Κριτήριον, certain mark or touch-stone of a true de-
" finition, that *it meeteth with all doubts, and confronteth*
" *all errors broached against the nature of justification*: first,
" the error of the Libertines, by that clause, *every peni-*
" *tent*: secondly, of the *Antinomians*, in the clause, *not*
" *imputing their sinne*: thirdly, the *Socinians*, in the clause,
" *perfect satisfaction*: and lastly, the *Arminians* and *Pa-*
" *pists*, in the last clause, *imputing Christs righteousnesse*, no
" habit or act of ours, no, not the act of faith. The testi-
" monies of Scripture, because they are readie at hand
" to every one, I shall forbear to quote at this present,
" and conclude with culling out of some passages of the
" ancient Fathers, the rather to confound our *Romish*
" adversaries, who putting on a brazen face, challenge the
" champions of our Faith to produce but one testimo-
" nie of any Divine or Doctor of the Church, who
" taught, that a man was justified by another mans righ-
" teousnesse, before *Calvin* or *Luther*. We accept of the
" challenge, and alledge first *Justin Martyr*, ὦ τῶν ἀπερισ-
" δοκήτων εὐεργεσίων, ἵνα ἀνομία πολλῶν ἐν ἑνὶ δικαίῳ κρυβῇ· δικαιοσύνη
" ὁ ἑνὸς πόλλος ἀδίκης δικαιοῦσι. O the inestimable and unex-
" pected mercies of God! The transgression of many

The definition of justification.

" is hid in one righteous One, and the righteouſ-
" neſſe of One acquitteth many. *Jerom*, *ut nos efficeremur*
" *juſtitia Dei in ipſo, non noſtra, nec in nobis*: that we might
" be made the righteouſneſſe of God in him, not ours,
" nor in us. *Auguſt. ſerm. 6. de verb. Apoſt. Videte duo,*
" *juſtitia Dei, non noſtra; in ipſo, non in nobis*: obſerve two
" things; it is Gods juſtice, not ours; and in him, not in
" us. *Et tract. 3. in Iohan. Omnes qui ex Adamo in peccato,*
" *peccatores; omnes qui per Chriſtum juſtificati, juſti; non in ſe,*
" *ſed in illo*: all that are juſtified by Chriſt, are juſt, not
" in themſelves, but in him. *Et in Pſal. 31. Mors Chriſti*
" *morte fugatur, & Chriſti nobis juſtitia imputatur*: our
" death is put to flight by Chriſts death, and Chriſt his
" righteouſneſſe is imputed to us. *Bernard. ad Mil.*
" *Temp. c. 12. Adæ peccatum imputabitur mihi, & Chriſti*
" *juſtitia ad me non pertinebit?* *Adams* ſin is imputed
" to me, and ſhall not Chriſt his righteouſneſſe belong
" to me? *Et Serm. 61. in Cant. Nempe factus es tu mihi,*
" *Chriſte, juſtitia à Deo: nunquid mihi verendum, ne una ambo-*
" *bus non ſufficiat? non eſt pallium breve, quod non poſſit operire*
" *duos; & te pariter & me operiet larga & æterna juſtitia?*
" thou, O Chriſt, art made righteouſeneſſe unto me from
" God: need I fear leſt thy righteouſneſſe, being but
" one, cannot ſuffice us both? it is no ſhort or ſcantie
" cloak or garment, that cannot cover two; thy large and
" eternall juſtice or robe of righteouſneſſe, ſhall cover
" both thee and me.

The ſecond Speech, to the eleventh Article.

M. Prolocutor,

" IUdicious and devout *Calvin*, alluding to the words
" of the Prophet, let us *draw water out of the wells*
Calvin. præfat. Inſtitut. " *of ſalvation*, ſaith, *nuſquam legimus reprehenſos qui nimi-*
" *um*

" *unde puteo aquæ vivæ hauserint*: none ever were found
" fault with, for drawing too much out of the well of
" life. Sith then we have free libertie to draw, and the
" water is so precious and soveraign, the *well so full and*
" *exuberant*, that, as S. *Cyprian* speaketh, *quantum fidei capacis*
" *afferimus, tantum gratiæ inundantis haurimus*; we take up
" so much grace as our faith can hold or receive. I pro-
" fesse, for my owne part, I had rather draw more out
" of this *well* then leffe: they who are onely for the im-
" putation of Christs passive obedience, seem to me to
" draw but *one bucket full*: but they who are for the impu-
" tation of both, two the former draw from thence only,
" *pretium redemptionis*, the price of our ransome; the o-
" ther, *meritum æternæ vitæ*, the merit of eternall life.
" But to leave all rhetoricall expressions, and handle
" this subtile question logically and scholastically. *Cypri. de exh. Dom.*

" First, we are to take notice of a double obedience of
" Christ as generall, which he performed to the whole
" law through the whole course of his life: a speciall,
" which he performed to that particular command of
" his Father, to lay down his life for his sheep.

" Secondly, when we speak of this generall and spe-
" ciall obedience of Christ (which some tearm active
" and passive; though it be most true which *Bernard* saith,
" *Christus in vita habuit actionem passivam; in morte passi-*
" *onem activam*: Christ in his life performed a passive
" action; in his death he sustained an active passion. It
" is confessed on all hands, that both are necessarie to
" justification, & that Christ performed both *for us*; but
" then we must distinguish of this tearm, *for us*; for it
" may either signifie *bono nostro*, only *for our good* and be-
" hoof, or also *loco nostro*, in *our stead and place*; that
" Christ satisfied the punishment of the law, and fulfil-
" led all the precepts thereof for us, that is, for our bene-

" fit,

" fit, is not denyed by any: and therefore those texts, *puer*
" *natus est nobis, & oportet nos implere omnem justitiam, &*
" *factus est sub lege ut eos redimeret*; to us a Child is
" borne, and so we ought to fulfill all righteousnesse,
" and he was made under the law, that he might redeem
" those that were under the law, and the like might be
" spared; they are like the *Lacedemonian* swords, too short
" to reach their adversaries. But that he fulfilled the
" law, *loco nostro*, in *our stead and place*, that's denyed by
" *Piscator* and *Tilenus*; who conceive that the passive obe-
" dience only is imputed to us, *et implet utramque*
" *paginam*, not the active. Their principall reasons
" are.

Piscator and Tilenus. Obj.

" First, Christ as man, being a creature, was bound
" to fulfill the law of his Creator for himselfe, other-
" wise he had not been *sacerdos inculpatus*, a high Priest
" without blame, neither would his sufferings have
" steaded us: but, being an innocent man, he was not
" bound to satisfie for the breach of the law; that there-
" fore is to be allowed to us which he did undergoe in
" our stead.

" Secondly, the Scripture attributeth our redemp-
" tion and reconciliation to the blood of Christ;
" *Christs blood cleanseth us from all sin*, 1 *Io.* 1, 9, and 6.
" *Christ gave his flesh for the life of the world.*

" Thirdly, he that is freed from the guilt of all sins,
" of omission as well as commission, is to be reputed, as
" if he had fulfilled the law: for *idem est esse justum &*
" *innocentem*, it is all one to be a just and an innocent man.
" But by the imputation of Christs passive obedience
" we are freed from the guilt of all sin, as well of omissi-
" on as commission, *ergo* &c.

" Fourthly, if Christs active obedience be imputed
" to us, then there needs no remission of sins; for he

" who

" who is esteemed to have fulfilled the law, needs no
" forgiveneſſe for the breach it.

" Fifthly, thoſe who are freed from eternall death,
" of neceſſitie attain everlaſting life: but by the impu-
" tation of Chriſts paſſive obedience, we are freed from
" eternall death: *ergo*, by it we obtain everlaſting
" life.

" To the firſt, a three-fold anſwer may be given. Firſt, *Sol 1. Obj.*
" that Chriſt, in regard of his hypoſtaticall union, was
" freed from all obligation of law, which otherwiſe had
" layen upon him, if he had been meer man. Secondly, ad-
" mitting that Chriſt, as man, after he had taken upon
" him our nature, was bound to fulfill the law for him-
" ſelf; yet becauſe he freely took upon him our na-
" ture, and conſequently this obligation for us, his diſ-
" charging it ſhall accrue to us: as if I freely enter into
" bond for another mans debt; if I diſcharge the bond,
" I both releaſe my ſelf and my friend. Thirdly, we muſt
" diſtinguiſh of a publike perſon and private; what a
" man doth as a private perſon, belongeth only to him-
" ſelf; but what he doth as a publike perſon, to himſelf
" and others.

" To the ſecond I anſwer, that either the blood & death *Sol. 2.*
" of Chriſt are taken by a *Synechdoche*, for his entire o-
" bedience, it being the *coronis* and crown of all; or that
" ſalvation and life is attributed to it, becauſe it me-
" rited for us the imputation of Chriſts active obedi-
" ence alſo.

" To the third, he that is freed from ſinne of omiſſi- *Sol. 3.*
" on is in the ſtate of an innocent, but not of a juſt man:
" he is indeed freed from all puniſhment, yet be-
" cauſe he hath not actively fulfilled the law in the
" courſe of his life, he hath no good title to eternall
" life: by the law, *hoc fac & vives*, doe this and thou ſhalt

" live;

" live; he that is guiltie of no sin of omission, is equiva-
" lent to a just man, *quoad liberationem à pœna*, but not
" *quoad meritum æternæ vitæ*, in regard of freedom from
" punishment, but not in regard of the meriting eternall
" life; *secundum quid, non simpliciter*; in some respects, not
" simplie.

Sol. 4. " To the fourth, Christs righteousnesse cannot be
" imputed to us, before we are assoyled of our sinnes.
" For it is not righteous with God, to accompt him
" righteous, who hath no way satisfied for his sinnes,
" neither by himselfe nor other: the captive must be first
" freed, before he be advanced to honour.

Sol. 5. " To the fifth, though it follow by the connexion of
" the causes of our salvation, that whosoever is freed fro
" eternall death, is stated in eternall life: yet it doth not
" follow that there is the same cause of both: as for ex-
" ample, if you open the leaves of a window, the sunne-
" beams shine into the roome; yet there is not one and
" the selfe same cause of opening the window, and the
" immission of the beams.

" Thus I have handled the poynt, ἀναιρετικῶς, by way of
" confutation: now καταστατικῶς, by way of confirmation,
" I set to the proof thereof.

" First, if justification be a distinct thing from redemp-
" tion and satisfaction: then the imputation of Christs
" meer passive obedience will not suffice for our justifi-
" cation: but they are distinct things, *Dan.* 9, 24. *He shall*
" *make an end of sin, he shall make reconciliation for iniquitie,*
" *and bring in everlasting righteousnesse.* 1 *Cor.* 1, 30. He
" is made to us, *righteousnesse, and sanctification, and re-*
" *demption.*

" Secondly, that which is imputed to us, is called
" righteousnesse, and δικαίωμα, *Rom.* 5. but meer passive o-
" bedience makes not a man righteous, but only pati-
" ent, *ergo*, &c.

" Thirdly, the

" Thirdly, the fulfilling of the ceremoniall law is a " different thing from Christs passive obedience; but " that is imputed to us, by the reason which our adver- " saries bring, because Christ did not that for himself, " in regard he had no sin; whereof all those legall acts " were a kind of confession: and therefore it must be al- " lowed to us.

" Fourthly, If part of Christs active obedience be " imputed to us, why not the whole? But the adversaries " confesse, that Christs voluntarie submitting himself " to death, and offering up himself for a sacrifice to " God (which are parts of his active obedience) are " imputed to us: for otherwise his bare sufferings had " not been meritorious. *Ergo*, his whole active obedi- " ence is imputed to us.

" Fifthly, unlesse Christs actuall fulfilling of the law " be imputed to us, we are debarred of eternall life, " which is promised to none but such who in them- " selves or by Christ have fulfilled the law, according " to those texts, *fac hoc & vives: & si vis ad vitam in- " gredi, serva mandata:* doe this and thou shalt live, and " if thou wilt enter into life, keep the Commande- " ments.

" If Christ were not bound to fulfill the law for him- " self, upon our adversaries own ground, his fulfilling " the law must be imputed to us: but he was not bound " to fulfill the law for himself. First, because he was not " *persona humana, & lex datur personæ, non naturæ*; Christ " was not a humane person, and the law is given to the " person, not to the nature. Secondly, because as Son of " man, he is Lord of the Sabbath, and so of the law. " Thirdly, because he is the King of the Church, to " prescribe lawes to his subjects, not to himself, and " all power is given to him both in heaven and earth.

" Laſtly, becauſe no man will ſay, that Chriſt in heaven
" hath any obligation upon him, yet there he hath his hu-
" mane nature: that nature therefore, as in him it was
" hypoſtatically united to the deitie, was free from all
" tye in regard of himſelfe; what he engaged himſelf was
" for us, and to be allowed on our accompt.

M. Prolocutor,

The third Speech, to the eleventh Article.

" AS S. *Gregorie* ſaid, *plus debeo Thomæ, quam Petro*, I
" am more indebted to *Thomas* then *Peter*; becauſe
" his doubting of Chriſts reſurrection occaſioned a
" more ſenſible demonſtration thereof then otherwiſe
" we ſhould have had: ſo truly I may ſay, we are much be-
" holding to him, who firſt moved the ſcruple concern-
" ing the imputation of Chriſts ſole ſatisfaction; for it
" hath occaſioned the reſolution, not onely of that
" doubt, but of many other concerning the *communica-*
" *tio idiomatum*, the effects of the hypoſtaticall union,
" the nature of the law, and the faithfuls title to hea-
" ven.

" It is true, there hath been ſome *claſhing* among the
" worthie Members of this Aſſemblie: but it hath been
" like the colliſion of ſteel and flint, whereby have been
" ſtruck out many ſparks of divine and ſaving truth.
" Nothing ſeemeth to me now to hinder the putting the
" queſtion to the vote and determining it *ex voto*, ac-
" cording to our deſire, but the vindication of it from
" aſperſions caſt upon it by foure ſorts of miſcreants,
" the *Antinomians*, the *Papiſts*, the *Arminians*, and *Soci-*
" *nians*.

" Firſt, the *Antinomians* obje&, if Chriſts active
" righteouſneſſe be imputed unto us, then are not we
" bound to keep the law, becauſe Chriſt hath kept it for
" us.

" This

" This objection may be aſſoyled with a double an-
" ſwer: firſt, that this active obedience of Chriſt is
" imputed to none but true penitents. For though re-
" pentance be no cauſe of our juſtification, yet it is
" *conditio requiſita in ſubjecto*, a condition required in the
" ſubject; and to beleeve the remiſſion of our ſins, by
" imputation of Chriſts ſatisfaction and righteouſneſſe
" without a ſincere and ſerious purpoſe to forſake all
" our tranſgreſſions, and walk in newneſſe of life, is an
" act, not of Faith, but of preſumption. Secondly, I
" grant, that Chriſts righteouſneſſe being imputed to
" us, we are not bound to fulfill the law *hoc nomine* to
" juſtify us before God, or procure us a title to the
" Kingdom of Heaven: but for other ends, namely, to
" glorifie God, obey his will, to teſtifie our thankful-
" neſſe to our Redeemer, to ſhew our faith by our
" works, to make our election ſure to our ſelves, to a-
" dorn our profeſſion with a holy converſation, to a-
" voyd ſcandall, and avert Gods judgements.

" Secondly, the *Papiſts* object, if Chriſts active obe-
" dience be imputed to us, then either the whole, or a
" part of it: not a part, for that will make us righteous
" but in part: not the whole, for then no other ſhould
" have ſhare in it, but our ſelves; and everie particular
" beleever ſhould be as righteous as Chriſt himſelf, and
" everie one as another.

" But this objection may be aſſoyled by a three-fold
" anſwer. Firſt, there is a double *totum* or whole, *totum*
" *extra quod nihil eſt, & totum cui nihil deeſt*: a whole out
" of which there is nothing; as the whole water is in the
" baſin, and a whole to which nothing is wanting, as the
" whole ſoul is in every part of the body; for the ſoul
" is *tota* in *toto*, and *tota* in *qualibet parte*. Chriſts

" whole obedience in the first sense is imputed to us,
" not in the second. 2. All believers, according to the
" speech of *Luther*, are *æque justi ratione justitiæ imputatæ*,
" equally just in respect of imputed justice, though not
" *inhærentis*, of inherent, in respect of passive, not active
" righteousnesse. Thirdly, *æque pronunciamur justi, ut*
" *Christus*; we are equally pronounced just, as Christ;
" that is, we are as truely acquitted and absolved as he;
" *sed non pronunciamur æque justi*, but not pronounced e-
" qually just: for his justice was inherent, ours imputed;
" his from himself, ours from him; his of infinite
" worth, sufficient to justifie all beleevers; ours of finite,
" and sufficient only for our selves.

" The Arminians object, if τὸ *credere*, or the very act
" of believing justifie us, then not Christs imputed
" righteousnesse. But the very act of believing justifieth,
" as the Apostle saith, *Abraham* beleeved, and it was
" counted to him for righteousnesse. To this I an-
" swer, that faith may be considered either *ratione*
" *actus*, or *ratione objecti*, in regard of the act, or of
" the object. Faith justifieth not *ratione actus*, for
" then some work should justifie; but *ratione objecti*,
" not in regard of the act, but in regard of the object;
" as the spoon feeds the child, in regard of the milk in
" it; and the chirurgions hand heals, in regard of the
" playster he applies: those that were healed by looking
" upon the brazen serpent, were not cured by the sharp-
" nesse of their sight, for the purblind were as well hea-
" led as the sharp-sighted, but by a supernaturall vertue
" at that time given to the object, the brazen serpent, a
" type of Christ.

4. " The *Socinians* object, God doth not justifie man
" by an act of injustice: but it is injustice to punish one
" man for another, or attribute one mans righteousnesse
" to

" to another: for, *justitiæ est suum cuique tribuere*, it is the " office or property of justice to give to every man his " owne; therefore we are not justified by the imputati- " on of Christs active or passive obedience. But this " objection may be assoyled with a double answer. First " it is not against justice, but agreeable to justice, to " lay the debt or penalty of one man upon another, in " case that one man voluntarily undertake for the other, " and becomes his surety: as it was just to lay *Cimon* in " the gaol for his father *Miltiades* debt, after he ingaged " himself for it, and made it his own: neither was it un- " just to put out one of *Zaleuchus* his eyes for his sons " adulterie, after hee undertook to satisfie for his " son, and to save him one eye, who otherwise should " have lost both. Secondly when God imputes Christs " righteousnesse unto us, he gives us our *own*, namely, " that which Christ hath purchased for us by his death: " and secondly in regard of our union with Christ, " whatsoever is Christs in this kind, is ours, and *Ro.* 5. " he that hath given Christ to us, hath given his righte- " ousnesse also.

M. Prolocutor,

" THe *Roman* orator in his oration *pro Sexto Roscio* The fourth
" *Amerino* writeth of *Caius Fimbria*, that he indicted speech to the
" *Q. Scævola* upon a strange point, that he would not eleventh Ar-
" suffer himself to be slain out-right by him, *diem Sca-* ticle.
" *volæ dixit, quod non totum telum corpore recepisset*; accu-
" sed *Scævola*, for not receiving his whole weapon into
" his body: methinks some of our brethren put in a
" like bill against us, that we suffer them not to have a
" full and fair blow at us; *quod non tota tela argumentorum*
" *recipiamus*, that we receive not the weapons of their

" argu-

" arguments whole & entire, I will therefore propound
" their arguments, as neer as I can remember, in their
" own words to the beſt advantage, and then return a
" punctuall anſwer unto them. If any of their arrows
" be headed, if any of their ſwords be keen edged and
" ſharp pointed, if any of their arguments have *acumen*
" *& robur*, ſharpneſſe and ſtrength, they are theſe five
" following.

Obj. 1. " Every humane creature is bound to fulfill the Law
" of God for himſelf *jure creationis*, by the right of
" creation. But Chriſt is a humane creature, *ergo* he was
" bound to fulfill the Law of God for himſelfe, and con-
" ſequently he fulfilled it not in our ſtead.

" To the conſequence inferred upon the concluſion
" of this Syllogiſm, I have ſpoken heretofore. I now
" anſwer to the Syllogiſm it ſelf, by diſtinguiſhing of
" *humana creatura*, a humane creature, which may be ta-
" ken either *ratione naturæ* onely, or *ratione perſonæ* alſo;
" which may be ſo tearmed, either in regard of the na-
" ture, or the perſon: every humane creature *ratione*
" *naturæ & perſonæ*, that is, ſuch a creature as hath not
" only humane nature but a humane perſon alſo, is
" bound to fulfill the morall Law for himſelf: but Chriſt
" was not ſo; he had a humane nature, but no humane
" perſon. Now we know, *Lex datur perſonæ*, the Law is
" given to the perſon, Thou ſhalt doe this, or thou ſhalt
" not doe that.

Obj. 2. " In the accompt of the law, and all judiciarie pro-
" ceedings, it is all one to be *inſons & juſtus*, to be guilt-
" leſſe and righteous: but by the imputation of Chriſts
" ſatisfaction we are accompted guiltleſſe before God:
" *ergo* righteous and fully juſtified.

" I anſwer: There are two ſorts of cauſes in courts of
" juſtice, criminall and civill: in criminall it is true,

" *idem*

« *idem eſt eſſe inſontem & juſtum*, it is all one to be ac-
« compted innocent, and juſt: but not in civill, where
« juſtice hath a reſpect to reward: and in that regard, a
« guiltleſſe man is not neceſſarily a juſt man, that is, a
« deſerving man. It was not ſufficient for *Demoſthenes*
« to plead for *Cteſiphon*, that he was a harmeleſſe man,
« and therefore ought in juſtice to have the crown;
« but he proves that he was a deſerving man, and by the
« law ought to have it as his due.

« Thirdly, Juſtification is a judiciary act oppoſite *Obj.* 3.
« to condemnation; but imputation of active obedi-
« dience is no judiciary act oppoſite to condemnati-
« on, *ergo*, *&c.*

« God is ſaid to be a righteous judge, not only in reſpect *Sol.*
« of inflicting puniſhment rightly, but alſo in confer-
« ring rewards and crowns of glory: & juſtification hath
« reſpect to both, for there are two queſtions put to us at
« Gods tribunall; firſt, what haſt thou to ſay for thy
« ſelf, why thou ſhouldſt not be condemned to hels tor-
« ments? the anſwer is, I confeſſe I have deſerved them by
« my ſins; but Chriſt hath ſatisfied for me: the ſecond
« queſtion is, what canſt thou plead why thou ſhouldſt
« in juſtice receive a crown of glory, ſith thou haſt not
« fulfilled the law? the anſwer is, Chriſt hath fulfilled
« the law for me: both theſe are expreſſed by *Anſelm* in
« his book *de modo viſitandi infirmos*; *ſi dixerit, meruiſti*
« *damnationem; dic, Domine, mortem Domini noſtri Ieſu Chri-*
« *ſti obtendo inter me & mala merita mea; ipſiuſque meritum*
« *offero pro merito, quod ego debuiſſem habere, nec habeo*; if
« he, ſaith thou haſt deſerved damnation, anſwer thou,
« I ſet Chriſts death between me and my ill deſerts, or
« wicked works, and I offer his merit for that merit which
« I ſhould have, but of my ſelf I have not.

« Fourthly, all they who are freed from the guilt of *Obj.* 4.

" all sins of omission as well as commission, are ac-
" counted as absolutely righteous before God; but by
" the imputation of Christs meer passive obedience we
" are freed from the guilt of all sins, of omission as well
" as commission, *ergo, &c.*

Sol. " I answer: This argument is a plain fallacie *a dicto*
" *secundum quid ad simpliciter*, from that which is said to
" be so in some respect, to that which is simplie so: he
" that is free from the guilt of the sin of omission, it is
" if he were righteous *secundum quid*, in some respect;
" that is, in regard of punishment and guilt, but not as a
" righteous man simplie, who hath a good title to a
" crown of glorie. For the taking away of guilt doth
" not necessarily put merit. *Adam* at the first moment
" of his creation was guiltlesse, yet had no merit which
" he might pretend as a title to the Kingdom of Hea-
" ven.

Obj. 5. " Fifthly, every doctrine of Faith ought to be founded
" upon Gods Word; but our pretensing a title to the
" Kingdom of Heaven, by the imputation of Christs
" active obedience, hath no foundation in Gods Word,
" *ergo, &c.*

Sol. " It hath foundation in Gods Word; namely, in
" these texts, *fac hoc & vives*; *si vis ad vitam ingredi, serva*
" *mandata*, doe this and thou shalt live; and if thou wilt
" enter into life, keep the commandements: and we
" establish the law by faith; and these shall walk with
" me in white robes, for they are worthy: upon these
" foundations we build this sort for truth; none may
" enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, who have not
" some way fulfilled the law (*fac hoc & vives*) and that
" in the rigour thereof, exactly and perfectly; but all
" true beleevers enter into the Kingdom of Heaven; and
" I subsume (they have not fulfilled the law exactly and

" per-

« perfectly in their own persons.) *Ergo*, they have ful-
« filled it by their suretie. Christ his fulfilling the law
« therefore is imputed to them.

Concerning the resolve of the Assemblie, that the whole obedience of Christ is imputed to everie beleever.

M. Prolocutor,

« THe expression agreed upon by the Assemblie, The fifth speech to the eleventh Article.
« seemes liable to three exceptions, redundancie,
« deficiencie, and noveltie: redundancie, in the word
« *whole*; deficiencie, in the word *obedience*; and novel-
« tie, in the word *imputed*: as *Tertullian* saith of the
« serpent, *quot colores tot dolores*; so we may say here, *quot*
« *literæ tot lituræ*.

« The first exception is of redundancie: for within
« the accompt of the *whole* obedience of Christ commeth
« his obedience to the ceremoniall law, which yet is not
« imputed to us, because we ought no obedience to it;
« it was no part of our debt, and therefore our sure-
« tie his laying it down commeth not upon our ac-
« compt.

« The second exception is of deficiencie in the word
« *obedience*, for it falls short of that which is imputed to
« us. For Christs originall righteousnesse is not com-
« prised under either his active or passive obedience; yet
« that also must be imputed to us, as *Beza* elegantly de-
« monstrateth, putting the case thus: we were accompta-
« ble to the divine justice for three things, originall
« corruption, sins of omission, and sins of commissi-
« on.

« To this three-fold maladie a three-fold remedie

" was to be applyed: to our originall ſins, Chriſts ori-
" ginall righteouſneſſe: to ſins of omiſſion, Chriſts
" active: to ſins of commiſſion, his paſſive obedience.
" If the accuſer of the brethren article againſt us at
" Chriſts bar, thou wert conceived and born in ſin: the
" anſwer is, but my mediators conception and birth
" was without ſin; if he article, thou haſt omitted many
" duties of the law: the anſwer is, Chriſt hath fulfilled
" the law for me; if he article in the third place, thou
" haſt committed many actuall ſins againſt the law: the
" anſwer is, Chriſt hath ſatisfied for them by his death
" and paſſion.

" The third exception is of novelrie: for the impu-
" tation of Chriſts active and paſſive obedience was ne-
" ver defined for *dogma fidei*, a doctrine of faith, till the
" Synods held at *Gap* and *Privaſe* in our memorie. But
" theſe aſperſions may be eaſily waſhed away thus.

" Firſt, though we were not bound to the ceremoni-
" all law, yet the *Iewes* were: to whom this obedience of
" Chriſt was neceſſarily to be imputed, and this ſeemeth
" to be the deciſion of the Apoſtle, *Gal* 4, 4. *Made un-*
" *der the law, to redeem them that were under the law.*

" Secondly, though Chriſts originall righteouſneſſe
" were moſt requiſite in him to qualifie him to be both
" our high Prieſt and ſacrifice, that he might be an im-
" maculate lamb and an high Prieſt *ſeparated from*
" *ſinners*; and though this originall righteouſneſſe hath
" influence into our birth, to cleanſe it: yet, as *Rivetus*
" acutely obſerveth, it was not properly the work of
" Chriſt, but of the holy-Ghoſt ſanctifying him in the
" womb, and in that regard not to be imputed to us as
" any act of our mediator.

" Thirdly, though in the Synods above named the
" controverſies which aroſe about this point, firſt be-

" tween

« tween *Piscator* and *Rivet*, and after between *Moulin* « and *Tilenus*, were determined; yet the doctrine it self « was much more ancient: For besides the testimonies « of *Bernard, exhortat. ad templ. Chrys. 2 Cor. 5. Aug.* « *in Psal.* 21. and *Justin Martyr in quæst.* heretofore al- « ledged by me, *Tilenus* himself confesseth that it was « *Luthers* opinion: and *Calvin* is expresse for it, *in ep. ad* « *Rom.* 3. *v.* 31. *Cum ad Christum ventum est, in eo invenitur* « *exacta legis justitia quæ per imputationem sit nostra*; « when we come to Christ, in him we find the exact « justice of the law, which by imputation is made ours. « And so is *Peter Martyr, in ep. ad Rom. c.* 8. *Justitia Christi* « *qua lex impleta fuit, illorum jam est justitia, & illis à Deo* « *imputatur*: Christ his righteousnesse, by which the « law is fulfilled, is now their righteousnesse, and impu- « ted to them by God. And *Vrsin. Catech. Perfecta satis-* « *factio, justitia & sanctitas Christi mihi imputatur*: Christ « his perfect satisfaction, justice and holinesse, is impu- « ted to me. And *Hemmingius de justif. art.* 2. *Justificatio* « *hominis est credentis in Christum absolutio à peccato propter* « *mortem Christi, & imputatio justitiæ Christi*: justifica- « tion is the acquitting of a beleever from sinne for the « death of Christ, and the imputation of Christs righ- « teousnesse. And the *Magdeburgenses, Cent.* 1. *l.* 2. « *Justitia, quam Deus impio imputat, est totum opus quod* « *Christus mediator noster pro toto genere humano præstitit*: « all which Christ our mediatour did for all man- « kind is the righteousnesse which God imputeth to « a sinner.

« But here me thinks I heare those who are most active « in the Assembly for the imputation of the meer pas- « sive obedience of Christ, like the Tribunes among the « *Romans, obnunciare & intercedere*, that they may hinder « and stop the decree of the Assembly, alledging, that

" though some of the ancient Fathers, and not a few of
" the reformed Doctors cast in their *white stone* among
" ours: yet that we want his suffrage, who alone hath
" the turning voice in all debates of this kind, and that
" according to our protestation made at our first meet-
" ing we ought to resolve upon nothing in matter of
" faith, but what we are perswaded hath firm and sure
" ground in Scripture: and howsoever some texts have
" been alledged for the imputation of both active and
" passive obedience, yet that at our last sitting they were
" wrested from us, and all inferences from thence cut off,
" all the re-doubts & sorts built upon that holy ground
" *sleighted*: it will import therefore very much those
" who stand for the affirmative part to *recruit* the *forces*
" *of truth*, and *make up the breaches in our forts* made by the
" adversaries batteries.

Arg. 1. " First, our first sort is built upon *Rom.* 5. 18, 19.
" after this manner: if we are made righteous by the
" obedience of Christ, his entire obedience must needs
" be imputed to us. But we are made righteous by the
" obedience of Christ, as the Apostle affirmeth in the
" text quoted. Therefore Christs obedience must needs
" be imputed to us.

Resp. " In this sort they make a breach thus: by obedience
" the Apostle here understandeth that speciall obedi-
" ence which Christ performed to the commandement
" of his Father, for laying down his life for his sheep;
" of which the Apostle speaketh, *Phil.* 2. 8. *He became obe-*
" *dient to death, even to the death of the crosse*: therefore this
" text maketh nothing for the imputation of Christs
" active obedience.

Replic. " But First, the breach is thus repaired: the word in
" the former verse is not ὑπακοὴ, but δικαίωμα, which is ne-
" ver

" ver taken in Scripture for suffering, or meer passive
" obedience.

" Secondly, the Apostle saith, *loc. supra. cit. many are*
" *made righteous*; and *righteousnesse* came upon all to *justi-*
" *fication of life*; and Christ is the end of the law *for*
" *righteousnesse*, and the abundance of grace, and *gift of*
" *righteousnesse* shall reign by one Jesus Christ: but no
" man is said to have justification of life, or abundance
" of grace, and the gift of *righteousnesse*, or to be made
" *righteous*, by suffering only: for the willing undergo-
" ing of punishment satisfieth the law but in part; it
" denominateth a man patient, but not absolutely right-
" teous. Christ himself was not righteous only in re-
" gard of his sufferings; and therefore the imputation
" of them only unto us will not make us formally righ-
" teous, though it fully acquitteth us from all punish-
" ment.

" Thirdly, the obedience here mentioned is set in
" opposition to *Adams* disobedience: but *Adams* diso-
" bedience was active: therefore Christs obedience must
" be active.

" This argument may be illustrated by S. *Bernards*
" paraphrase, *ad exhort. ad Templar. c.* 11. *ablato peccato,*
" *redit justitia; porro mors Christi mvte fugatur, & Christi*
" *nobis justitia imputatur: plus potuit Adam in malo, quam*
" *Christus in bono? Ada peccatum imputabitur mihi, & Christi*
" *justitia ad me non pertinebit?* Sin being taken away,
" righteousnesse returns; moreover, death is put to
" flight by the death of Christ; and Christs righteous-
" nesse is imputed unto us: could *Adam* more hurt us by
" sin, then Christ benefit us by righteousnesse? Shall the
" sin of *Adam* be imputed to me, and shall the righteous-
" nesse of Christ no way belong unto me, or I have no
" interest in it?

" Our

Arg. 2. " Our ſecond ſort is built upon 2 *Cor.* 1. 30. after this
" manner. If Chriſt be made unto us *righteouſneſſe*, as
" righteouſneſſe is diſtinguiſhed from redemption, then
" Chriſts active obedience is imputed to us as well as
" his paſſive. But Chriſt is made to us *righteouſneſſe* and
" ſanctification, as they are diſtinct things from re-
" demption, or ſatisfaction (as the letter of the text
" importeth, he is made to us of God righteouſneſſe,
" ſanctification, and redemption.) *Ergo*, Chriſts active
" obedience is imputed to us as well as his paſſive.

Adverſ. Reſp. " In this ſort they make a breach thus: Chriſt is made
" to us righteouſneſſe, as he is made wiſdom, for ſo run-
" neth the text; Chriſt is made to us of God wiſdom,
" and righteouſneſſe, *&c.* But he is not made to us
" wiſdom, by imputing his wiſdom unto us, but by
" inſtructing us, and making us wiſe to ſalvation; there-
" fore neither is he ſaid to be made righteouſneſſe to us,
" becauſe his righteouſneſſe is imputed to us; but becauſe
" he ſanctifieth us, and maketh us by his grace righteous
" and holy. But the breach is thus repaired.

Replicatio. " Firſt, whatſoever Chriſt is made unto us, he is made
" perfectly ſuch unto us; elſe we ſhall lay a defect upon
" him, who is perfection it ſelf. But Chriſt is not made
" perfectly wiſdom, or ſanctification, or righteouſneſſe
" to us, ſave onely by imputing his own righteouſneſſe,
" and wiſdom, and holineſſe to us, which are moſt per-
" fect: for, as for our inherent righteouſneſſe, and holi-
" neſſe, and wiſdom, they are imperfect and defective; as
" all confeſſe, ſave *Papiſts* and *Pelagians*.

" Secondly, Chriſt is ſo made righteouſneſſe to us, as
" he is made redemption; for ſo carrieth the letter;
" Chriſt is made to us righteouſneſſe, and redemption.
" But he is made redemption unto us, by imputing his
" paſſive obedience; therefore in like manner he is made
" righ-

" righteouſneſſe unto us, by imputing the active obedi-
" ence. Yea but, ſay they, Chriſts wiſedom is not im-
" puted to us: I anſwer, it is, and it covers our follies
" and errors, as his righteouſneſſe doth our ſins; and by
" vertue thereof we are acompted wiſe unto ſalvation;
" and for proof of this expoſition I alledge an Author
" of greateſt authoritie next the Apoſtles, *Clemens Ro-*
" *manus* in his former Epiſtle *ad Corinth.* ſo highly cry-
" ed up by all the antients, *p.* 41. *Non per nos ipſos juſtifi-*
" *camur, neque per ſapentiam noſtram, intelligentiam, pieta-*
" *tem, aut opera, quæ in puritate cordis & ſanctimonia opera-*
" *ti ſumus; ſed per fidem, per quam omnipotens Deus omnes ab in-*
" *itio juſtificavit*: we are not juſtified by our wiſedom or
" godlineſſe, *&c.* but by faith by which God juſtified all
" from the beginning.

" Thirdly, our third ſort is built upon 2 *Cor.* 5, 21. *Arg.* 3.
" after this manner: thoſe who are made the *righteouſneſſe*
" *of God in Chriſt* muſt needs have Gods righteouſneſſe
" imputed unto them. But Gods righteouſneſſe in Chriſt
" is the perfect fulfilling of the law; *ergo*, the perfect
" fulfilling of the law is imputed to us.

" In this ſort they make a breach thus. By ſin is here *Reſp.*
" meant a ſacrifice for ſin: and it is granted on all hands *Adverſ.*
" that Chriſt was made a ſacrifice for ſin, that we might
" be accompted righteous before God; and this maketh
" for the imputation of the paſſive, but not the active
" obedience of Chriſt. But the breach is thus repai- *Replic.*
" red.

" Firſt, there is no neceſſitie of expounding here ſin
" by this gloſſe, *a ſacrifice for ſin*: the words will carrie as
" well another interpretation, namely, that as Chriſt was
" reputed a ſinner for us, or in our ſtead: ſo we are ac-
" compted righteouſneſſe in him. But our ſins are no
" way in him but by imputation, therefore his righte-

" ousnesse also is in us by imputation; and this is the
" current sense which we find in the expositions of the
" antient Fathers, *Chrys. in hunc locum, p.* 322. [illegible],
" ἀλλὰ δικαιοσύνη· καὶ γὰρ Θεοῦ ἐστιν αὐτὴ ὅταν μὴ ἐξ ἔργων, ὅταν καὶ κηλίδα
" ἀναγκὴ τίνα μὴ εὑρηθέναι, &c. he said not righteous, but righte-
" ousnesse; for that righteousnesse he speaks of is Gods,
" since it is not of works; and it is such in which there
" must be no stain, or spot, which cannot be inherent but
" imputed: he made the just to be unjust, that the unjust
" might be made just, and S. *Aug. in Psal.* 21. *delicta no-*
" *stra sua delicta fecit, ut justitiam suam nostram justitiam*
" *faceret*: he made our sins his sins, that he might
" make his righteousnesse our righteousnesse.

In Rom. 5.

" Secondly, admit we take sin for sacrifice for sin in
" this place, this very interpretation rather strength-
" neth then weakneth the former argument: for that
" righteousnesse which is said to be in Christ would ne-
" ver have been ours, if his death had not been a sacrifice
" for our sins: thus therefore I collect the argument
" out of this place.

Assumpt. But the righteousnesse of Christ, as he was a sacrifice for sin, was to be unspotted wholly and without sin.

" The righteousnesse which is in Christ can be no
" otherwise ours then by imputation; but the righte-
" ousnesse here spoken of is the righteousnesse in Christ;
" *ergo*, it cannot be ours any other way then by imputa-
" tion.

Hebr. Ergo, as he was a sacrifice for sin, his holinesse was imputed unto us.

" Thirdly, Christs sufferings are not properly his
" righteousnesse, though he who suffered were righteous,
" nay righteousnesse it self: neither are these sufferings
" now in Christ, but his active obedience and holinesse
" is truely and properly righteousnesse, and it remains
" in him; and is that eternall righteousnesse spoken of by
" the prophet *Daniel*, (*c.* 9, *v.* 14.) he shall take away
" sin, and bring everlasting righteousnesse.

Arg. 4.

" Our fourth sort is built upon *Col.* 2, 10. after this
" manner:

" manner: if all the faithfull are *compleat in Chriſt*, as
" the Apoſtle here affirmeth, *we are compleat in him in*
" *whom dwelleth the fullneſſe of the God-head*; then Chriſt
" ſupplyeth whatſoever is otherwayes defective in them,
" and yet required of them. But the perfect fulfilling
" of the law is required of them, which they cannot doe
" in their owne perſons; *ergo*, Chriſts fulfilling it for
" them is imputed to them.

" In this ſort they make a breach thus: whatſoever *Adverſ. Sol.*
" we were bound to doe, Chriſt hath done for us, either
" in *ſpecie*, or *per equivalentiam*; in kind, or in value: ac-
" cording to which diſtinction, although the fulfilling
" of the law be not imputed to us in *ſpeciei* yet it is *per*
" *equivalentiam*, becauſe his ſatisfaction is imputed to
" us: and ſo there is no defect in us, becauſe no man is
" bound both to fulfill the law, and ſatisfie the breach
" thereof: we therefore having ſatisfied for the breach
" of the law are accompted as if we had fulfilled the law.
" But the breach is thus repaired.

" No man who ſtandeth *rectus in curiâ*, as *Adam* did *Replicatio.*
" in his innocencie, or the Angels before they were con-
" firmed in grace, is bound both to fulfill the law, and to
" ſatisfie for the violation thereof; but to the one or to
" the other, to fulfil only the law primarily, & to ſatisfie
" for not fulfilling it in caſe he ſhould tranſgreſſe; but
" that is not our preſent caſe. For we are all born and
" conceived in ſinne, and by nature are the children of
" wrath, and are guiltie as well of *Adams* actuall tranſ-
" greſſion as our own corruption of nature drawn
" from his loyns. Therefore firſt we muſt ſatisfie for
" our ſinne, and then by our obedience lay claim to
" life, according as it is offered us by God in his law,
" *fac hoc & vives*, doe this and live. Now we grant freely
" that Chriſts death is ſufficient for the ſatisfactorie

" part; but, unleſſe his active obedience be imputed to
" us, we have no plea or title at all to eternall life. To
" illuſtrate this by a lively ſimilitude, and ſuch an one to
" which the Apoſtle himſelf elſewhere alludes. In the
" *Olympian* games he that overcame received a crown
" of gold or ſilver, or a garland of flowers, or ſome
" other prize or badge of honour; but he that was over-
" come, beſides the loſſe of the prize, forfeited ſome-
" thing to the keeper of the games. Suppoſe then ſome
" friend of his ſhould pay his forfeiture, will that intitle
" him to his garland? Certainly no, unleſſe he prove
" maſteries again, and in another race out-ſtrip his ad-
" verſarie, he muſt goe away crownleſſe. This is our
" caſe by *Adams* tranſgreſſion and our own: we have
" incurred a forfeiture, or penaltie; this is ſatisfied by
" the imputation of Chriſts paſſive obedience: but
" unleſſe his active be alſo imputed to us, we have no
" plea or claim at all to our crown of glory; for we
" have not in our own perſons ſo run, that we might
" obtain.

The VOTE. *After this ſpeech the Divines cryed generally* to the Vote, *and though ſome few of eminent parts in the Aſſemblie diſſented, yet far the major part reſolved for the affirmative; but before the cloſe* D. F. *produced an advice of King* James *of bleſſed memorie directed to an Aſſemblie of Divines at* Privaſe *in* France, *for the deciding the preſent Controverſie which here followeth.*

Con-

Conſilium ſereniſſimi principis, *Iacobi*, Magnæ Britanniæ Regis, de controverſia ſequente ſopienda.

FEcit Deus (inquit *Solomon*) hominem rectum, ſed ipſe infinitis ſe immiſcuit quæſtionibus. Cujus ſententiæ veritas hinc elucet, quod tam infinitæ indies oriantur controverſiæ, quæ tantum ad turbandam eccleſiæ pacem ſpargi ubique videntur. Inter quas hæc nupera non ante quadraginta annos nata, & quæ caruit eccleſia annis mille quadringentis ſexaginta, nec quicquam inde tulit detrimenti; nunc vero inter duos doctiſſimos viros tam acriter ventilata poteſt recenſeri, utrum ſcilicet paſſiva Chriſti obedientia, qua vitam pro ovibus ſpeciali mandato poſuit, tantum nobis imputetur ad juſtitiam; vel ſimul cum paſſivâ, activa etiam qua ſe legi obedientem præſtitit.

Hanc quæſtionem & quæ inde emanant neceſſariò, quarum ſpecimen in propoſitionibus *Molinæi*, & oppoſitionibus *Tileni* cernere licet, nec generatim diſcutere, nec particulatim examinare nobis eſt propoſitum: ſed ex iis tantum quæ legimus ipſi, & coram audivimus, conſilium dabimus, quale fidei defenſorem non dedecere arbitramur. Et hoc quidem illud erit; nempe, ut ipſa penitus ſepeliatur quæſtio cum omnibus inde emergentibus, & cum faſciis & linteis quibus revinctum erat & involutum Chriſti corpus, in ſepulchro relinquatur, ab iis preſertim qui ſe cum Chriſto reſurrexiſſe profitentur; ut, relictis impedimentis omnibus, omnes ſimul in perfectum virum in Chriſto coaleſcamus: ne forte nimium altercando infantem vivum, quod indulgens mater non paſſa eſt, diſcindere; aut inconſutilem Chriſti tunicam, quod crudelis non tulit miles, dividere videamur.

Hæc conſilii noſtri ſumma: cujus ratio hæc eſt, quæſtio quod plane nova ſit, nec neceſſaria prioribus ſeculis inaudita, a conciliis non definita, a patribus non tractata, nec denique a ſcholaſticis ipſis agitata. Apage ergo.

Deinde ſi utraque pars litigantium vel ab ipſis doctiſſimorum theologorum ſententiis ab utriſque allatis ſtare, vel in eccleſiarum judiciis quæ ab ipſis utrinque afferuntur acquieſcere vellet, non alio opus eſſet

arbitro; cum & ipsi, ut ex eorum scriptis apparet, jam inter se consenserint ultro, & felicissimum quaestioni finem imposuerint.

Proinde hortamur ac amicè monemus ne deinceps sinant hasce controversias latiùs serpere; prae omnibus, praelo ut abstineant, & scriptis hinc inde polemicis huic siti fomenta ne ministrent: denique ut fidele sit utrinque silentium, cum edificationi non serviant, nec alio tendant quam ad dissociandos hominum animos in reliquis fidei capitibus consentientium: quibus omnibus, si unquam alias, tum hisce praesertim temporibus summa pax & concordia est summè necessaria.

Sint igitur memores plus semper tribuendum esse charitatis studio, quam scientiae victoriae, secundum illud Apostoli: solliciti servare unitatem spiritus in vinculo pacis, & publico ecclesiae commodo privatam non anteferre gloriam.

JACOBUS Rex.

The advice of the most Gracious Prince, James, *King of great Britain, for the quieting and composing the ensuing Controversie.*

Eccl, 7. 29. GOd made man upright, saith *Solomon*, but he found out many inventions: the truth whereof hence appeares, that there dayly grow such infinite controversies which seem to tend to no other end, then to disturb the peace of the Church. Among which this late question sprung up within these fortie years, which the Church of God knew not of for 1460 years and sustained thereby no detriment, but now hath been eagerly argued between two most learned men, may be ranked; whether the passive obedience of Christ, whereby he layd down his life for his sheep by the speciall command of his Father, be only imputed to us for righteousnesse, or together with the passive the active also whereby he render'd himself obedient to the law. This question, and those that necessarily arise from it, (a glimpse whereof we may see in the propositions of *Molinaus*, and the oppositions of *Tilenus*) we have no mind either in generall to discusse, or in particular to scan. But out of those things which we have read our selves, or heard from others in our presence, we will give such advice as we think will not misbeseem the Defender of the faith. And that is this: to wit, that this question

stionhe altogether buried with those that depend upon it, and be left in the grave with the napkin and the linnen cloths wherein the body of Christ was wrapt, especially by them who professe themselves to be risen with Christ: that, all impediments being removed, we may all grow unto a perfect man in Christ Jesus: lest peradventure by too much wrangling we seem to cut in two the living child, which the tender-hearted mother would not endure; or divide the seamlesse coat of Christ, which the cruell souldier would not suffer. This is the substance of what we shall advise: the reason whereof is, because it is a question altogether new, and not necessarie, unheard of in former ages, not determined in any Councell, not handled by the fathers, not disputed in the schools. Away with it therefore. Moreover, if both parties now contesting would either stand to the judgements of most learned Divines alleadged by both sides, or would rest satisfied in the determinations of the churches urged by both, there needed noother Arbitrator; seeing they themselves, as appears by their writings, agree of their own accord, and have alreadie brought it to an happie issue.

Therefore we exhort and friendly advise you that you suffer not these controversies to spread any further: above all, that you keep from the presse, and adde not fuell to this fire by polemicall tractates.

Lastly, that there be faithfull silence on both sides: seeing they tend not to edification, nor serve to any other purpose then to distract mens minds otherwise consenting in all chief poynts of faith. To whom, if ever, especially in these dayes perfect concord is most necessarie. Let them therefore remember that they ought rather to strive to preserve charitie, then to gain victorie according to that of the Apostle; endeavouring to keep the unitie of the spirit in the bond of peace; and not to prefer their private glorie before the publique good of the Church.

Concern-

D. F. *his ſpeech before the Aſſemblie of Divines, concerning the new League and* COVENANT.

M. Prolocutor,

"OUr brethren of *Scotland* deſire a reſolution from "this Aſſemblie concerning the neceſſitie and law- "fulneſſe of entring into this new league; and how can "we reſolve them if we be not reſolved our ſelves, as "ſome of us are not? I ſhall therefore humblie offer "to your ſerious conſideration whether it be not fit "to qualifie the word *Prelacie* when it is ranked with "poperie and ſuperſtition, after this manner: I will en- "deavour the extirpation of poperie, and all anti- "chriſtian, tyrannicall, or independent prelacie; "for otherwiſe by abjuring prelacie, abſolutely ſome "of us *ſhall ſwear* to *forſwear our ſelves*. For prelacie, "as alſo hierarchie, in the former and better ages of "the Church were taken in the better part; hierarchie "ſignifing nothing but a holy rule or government, and "prelacie the preeminencie of one in the Church above "another. Prelation is *a relatio diſquiparantiæ*, and *pre- "lati* are *relati* to thoſe over whom they are ſet; who "may be either the flock, or the paſtors themſelves; if "the flock, in that ſenſe all that have charge of ſouls "may be truely called *prælati*, *viz. gregi*; for they are ſet o- "ver them to be their over-ſeers and ſpirituall rulers, "*Act.* 8, 28. 1 *Pet.* 5, 2. *Heb.* 13, 17, 24. 1 *Tim.* 5. 17. In "this ſenſe both S. *Gregory* and *Bernard* take the word; "*prælati non quæ ſua ſunt, ſed quæ domini, quærant: & non pa- "ſtores, ſed impoſtores; non doctores, ſed ſeductores; non prælati, ſed "Pilati*: let prelates not ſeek their own, but thoſe things "which are the Lords; *now adays we have* not teachers, "but ſeducers; not ſhepheards, but deceivers; not pre-

"lates,

" lates, but Pilate; in which sentence, teachers, pastors
" and prelates are ranked together, as signifying the same
" persons: in which elegant antanaclasis you hear that
" doctors, pastors, and prelates, are a kind of *synony-*
" *mes*. In this sense, if we condemn prelates, and vote
" their extirpation, we shall with one breath blow all
" the Divines that have cure of souls, not only out of
" this Assemblie, but out of their Parsonages, & Vicarid-
" ges also. But if *prælati* are here in this covenant taken
" in reference to pastors themselves, and ministers of
" the Gospel, and thereby such are meant only who are
" *præpositi clero*, set over Clergie-men themselves, as ha-
" ving not only some precedencie to, but authoritie
" over the rest: neither in this sense may we piously
" swear the eradication of them. For there are classes
" in the *Netherlands*, Intendents and Super-indendents in
" *Germanie*, Presidents in the reformed Synods in *France*,
" and Masters, Provosts, and Heads of Colledges, and
" Halls in our Universities, who have a kind of prelacie
" and authoritie over the fellows and students, whereof
" the major part are Divines, and in holy orders. Here
" I conceive it will be said, that none of these are aimed
" at, but only *Diocesan* Bishops alreadie banished out
" of *Scotland*, and prelates indeed they are in a more e-
" minent degree; and if prelacie be restrained to them,
" it is Episcopacie that is principally shot at, to the extir-
" pation whereof I dare not yeeld my vote or suffrage,
" lest this new Oath intangle me in perjurie. For both
" my self and all, who have received orders in this King-
" dom, by the imposition of Episcopall hands, have free-
" ly engaged our selves by oath to obey our Ordinarie,
" and to submit to his godly judgement, and in all things
" lawfull and honest to receive his commands; if then
" we now swear to endeavour the abolishing of Episco-

pacy, we ſwear to renounce our canonicall obedience, that is, as I apprehend, *we ſwear to forſwear our ſelves.*

It is true that the Dr was furniſhed with many other reaſons for epiſcopacy, beſides theſe; and of ſome he gave a hint in the aſſembly it ſelf upon other occaſions, as namely.

SECT. VIII.

Sixteen reaſons for epiſcopall government.

THat the name of epiſcopacy, even as it ſignifieth a degree of eminency in the Church, is a ſacred and venerable title: firſt in holy ſcripture aſcribed to our bleſſed Redeemer, who as he is *dominus dominantium*, lord of lords, ſo alſo *epiſcopus epiſcoporum*, biſhop of biſhops, the ſhepheard and biſhop of all our ſouls: next to the Apoſtles, whoſe office in the Church is ſtiled by the holy Ghoſt *Epiſcope* a biſhoprick, *let another take his biſhoprick*, though it be tranſlated, let another take his office; yet the originall ſignifies not an office at large, but an epiſcopall function, that office which *Iuda* loſt, and *Matthias* was elected into, which was the office and dignitie of an Apoſtle: *laſtly to thoſe whom the Apoſtles ſet over the Churches, as namely to *Timothy* and *Titus*, who in the ſubſcription of the Apoſtles letters divinely inſpired are ſtiled Biſhops, in the reſtrained ſenſe of the word, 2 *Tim.* 4. written from *Rome* to *Timothius*, the firſt biſhop elected of the church of *Epheſus* and to *Titus*, the fifft elect Biſhop of the church of the Cretians: how ancient theſe ſubſcriptions are, it is not certain among the learned, if they bear not the ſame date with the *Epiſtles* themſelves (the contrary wherof neither is nor can be demonſtrated) yet they are undoubtedly very ancient, and of great authority, and in them the word biſhop cannot be taken at large for any miniſter or presbyter, but for a ſingular perſon in place and dignitie above other paſtors; for there were many other presbyters in *Epheſus* both before and beſides *Timothy*, *Acts* 20. 27. 18, and in the Iſland of *Creet* or *Candie* there muſt of neceſſity be more then one paſtor or miniſter. Beſides, S. *Paul* inveſteth *Timothy* in epiſcopall power,

2 Pet. 2. 25. *Irenæum.* Act. 1. 20.

* *Ambroſ. com. in Epheſ. c. 4. v. 10. Apoſtuli ſunt Epiſcopi Ierom. ad Marcel. apud nos Apoſtolorum locum tenent Epiſcopi. Cyp. ep. l. 3. Apoſtolos id eſt Epiſcopos, & præpoſitos Dominus elegit. Auguſt. in Pſ. 45. loco patrum erunt filii, id eſt, Apoſtolorum Epiſtopi. Et ibid. dilatatum eſt Evangelium in omnibus finibus mundi, in quibus principes eccleſiæ id eſt, Epiſcopi ſunt conſtituti.*

power, making him a judge of presbyters, both to rebuke them, 1 *Tim.* 5. 1. and to prefer and reward them, ver. 17. and to censure them ver. 19. Against an elder receive no accusation, but under two or three witnesses; and he giveth to *Titus* expressely both *potestatem ordinis & jurisdictionis*, of order and jurisdiction; of order in those words c. 1. 5. That thou shouldst ordain elders in every citie; and of jurisdiction, I left thee in *Creet* that thou shouldst continue *διορθῶσαι*, to correct or redresse the things that remained, or those things which the Apostle before intended to amend, but had not redressed.

2. The Angels of the seven churches, *Apoc.* 10. 20. were no other in the judgement of the best learned * commentators both ancient and later then the bishops of those sees, for in those provinces or territories there cannot be conceived to be lesse then many hundred ordinary preachers and pastors; yet there were but seven precisely answering to the seven golden candlesticks: seven candlesticks, seven lights burning in them, these can be no other then seven prime pastors, who had the oversight of the rest: for the errors and abuses in all those churches are imputed to them, and they reproved for not redressing them, c. 2. 14. Thou hast them that maintain the doctrine of *Baalam*, and v. 20. Thou sufferest the * woman *Iezebel* to teach &c.

3. It is confessed by *Molinæus*, and other learned patrons of presbyteriall government themselves, that episcopacy is a plant, either set in the church by the Apostles themselves, or their immediate successors in the first and best ages of the Church; and is it agreeable to piety to swear the extirpation of such a plant?

4. It cannot be denyed, that when the Church most flourished, and was of far larger extent then now it is, over the face of the christian world; there was no *other government then episcopacy regulated by divine precepts, and ecclesiasticall canons: and shall we swear to extirpate that government under the which the church most thrived and flourished? Shall we swear against our prayers, viz. for the rooting out of that, upon which we are enjoyned to pray God *to pour down the dew of his blessing*? surely the dew of heaven burns not the root of any plant upon earth, but waters it and makes it grow.

5. They were bishops who had the chiefest hand, first in the plantation of christian religion in the dayes of *Lucius*, king of *Britain*;

* *Aug. ep.* 162 & *comment in Apoc. hom.* 20. *Ambrose* 1 Cor. 11. 16. *œcumenius, Arethas, Marlorat. Pareus, in Apoc. c.* 1. 20. *Policarp. Episcopus Smyrnæ, Onesimus Ephesi Antipas Pergami, &c.*

* *Edit Tecle* it is *γυναῖκα σου* thy wife which demonstrateth that the Angell there signifieth one singular man of authority in the Church, and not the whole clergy of that place, *Ep ad Episc. Winton.*

* *Concil. Nicæ. can.* 5. *conc. Antioch can* 6. *conc. Sard. can.* 14. *conc Chal. act.* 15. *c.* 29. *Ignatius in ep. ad Philad. Irenæus l.* 3. *c.* 3. *Tertul. l. de baptismo Euseb. l.* 5. *c.* 20. *Ierom. ep ad Nepot. Optatus l.* 1. *cont. Parmen. Amb. in Eph. cap.* 4. *Basil. Eph.* 70.

tain; and after in the restauration in the dayes of *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*; and in the reformation of it in the reign of *Edward* the 6. and Queen *Elizabeth*: and is it a religious act to vindicate that government and power which both planted and practised religion in us?

6. Christ died not intestate, he made his last Will and Testament, and by it bequeathed many legacies to his Church, and among them not onely catholike doctrine, but discipline also: this discipline, if it be not Episcopall government moderated by Evangelicall and Apostolicall rules, the whole Church is guiltie of the losse of a sacred and precious jewell: for certain it is out of records of all ages of the Church, that no other was ever retained, or can be found save this, before the religious reformer and magistrates of *Geneva* having banished their Popish Bishops, were after a while necessitated to draw a new platforme of Ecclesiasticall discipline by Lay-Elders. Christ, as the Apostle teacheth us, was faithfull in the house of God as *Moses*: and it *Moses*, after his fortie dayes speech with God on the mount, received a pattern from God and delivered it to the *Jewes*, not only of doctrine but of discipline also, which continued till Christs comming in the flesh; it cannot be conceived, but that Christ left a pattern of government to his Church, to continue till the end of the world: and doubtlesse, his Apostles with whom he conversed forty dayes after his resurrection, speaking of those things which appertain to the kingdom of God, *Acts* 1. 1. delivered that to the Church which they received from their Master. What government or discipline was that? There can be conceived but three formes of government; Episcopall, most conformable to Monarchie; Presbyteriall, to Aristocracie; and Independent, as they teach it, to Democracie. Presbyteriall or Independent it could not be, for Presbyteriall is no elder then the reformation in *Geneva*, and the Independent no elder then *New-England*; whereas Episcopall government hath been time out of mind not in one but in all Churches: and such it was not first constituted by any sanction of a generall Councell, it followes necessarily, according to S. *Augustins* observation, that it must needs be an Apostolicall institution: for what not one Church, but all Churches, not in one age, but all ages, hath uniformly observed and practised, and no man can define who, after the Apostles, were the beginners of it, must needs be supposed to be done by order or tradition from them.

7. This

7. This forme of government was not only generally received and embraced by Catholikes, but even by heretikes and schismatiks; who though they severed from the communion of the Church in doctrine, yet not in discipline: for the *Novatians* and *Donatists* had Bishops of their own from whom they took their names; only * *Aerius*, who stood for a Bishoprick and missed it out of discontent broached that new doctrine wherewith the heads of our schismatiks are so much intoxicated, *viz.* that *there ought to be no distinction in the Church between a Bishop and a Presbyter*: and for this confounding those sacred orders was himselfe ranked among heretiks, and stands upon record in the Bedrolls of them made by *Epiphanius*, *Augustin*, and *Philastrius*. It is true he had other brands on him, but this was the proper mark put upon him by those ancient fathers, who mention this tenet of his as erroneous and hereticall. I grant some of the ancient Doctors affirm, that in the beginning, till the prevention of schism made this distinction between Bishops and Presbyters, they were all one in name, as now they are in those essentiall parts of their function, *viz.* preaching of the Word, and administration of the Sacraments. But *Aerius* was the first who professedly oppugned the ecclesiasticall hierarchie, maintaining that *there ought to be no difference and distinction between Bishops and Elders.*

Epiphanius hæres. 75. p. 295. Aug. ad quod vult Deum. Aeriani ab Aerio quodam sunt nominati, qui cum esset presbyter, doluisse fertur quod Episcopus non potuit ordinari, dicebat presbyterum ab Episcopo nulla differentia debere discerni. Hieron. in Tit.

8. This assertion of *Aerius*, as in the doctrine thereof it was defined by the Doctors of the Church to be heresie, so in the practise thereof it is condemned by the great councell of *Chalcedon*, to be sacriledge; to confound, say they, the ranks of Bishops and Elders and to bring down a Bishop to the inferior degree of an Elder, is no lesse then sacriledge. Now I would fain know how that comes to be truth now, which was condemned for heresie; and to be pietie now, which was branded for sacriledge above 1200 years agoe.

Con. 1. art. 15. c. 29. Episcopum in presbyteri gradum reducere est sacrilegium. Anatolius constant. Episcop. dixit, ii qui dicuntur ab Episcopali dignitate ad presbyteri ordinem descendisse, si justis de causis condemnantur nec presbyteri honore digni sunt.

9. Neither were the Fathers of the councell of *Chalcedon* only zealous in this cause, which so much concerned the honour of the Church: but the other three also, whose authoritie S. *Gregorie* held to be the next to the four Evangelists, and the doctrine thereof is after a sort incorporated into our Acts of Parliament, *Eliz.* 1. In these councells which all consisted of Bishops, Episcopacie it self is almost in everie canon and sanction either asserted or regulated.

10. Next to the primitive Church, we owe a reverend reſpect to the reformed Churches beyond the ſeas; who either have biſhops, as in *Poland*, *Tranſilvania*, *Denmark*, and *Swethland*; or the ſame function is in nature, though not in name: to wit, intendents and ſuper-intendents; or they would have them if they could, as I underſtood from manie Miniſters in *France*; or at leaſt approve of them, as appeareth by the teſtimonie of *Beza*, *Sadeel*, *Sculteſus*, and others.

11. What ſhould I ſpeak of the Articles of religion ratified by a *ſequence* of religious Princes ſucceeding one the other, and confirmed by act of Parliament; to which all beneficed men are required under pain of loſſe of their livings, within a moneth to profeſſe their aſſent and conſent; in which, both the power and conſecration of biſhops and miniſters is expreſſely aſſerted, and their diſtinction from presbyters? or of the Statute of *Carlile*, the 15 of *Edw.* 2. and the firſt of Qu. *Eliz.* with very many other unrepealed Acts, in which epiſcopall government is either related unto, or regulated or confirmed in ſuch ſort, that quite to aboliſh and extirpate it would bring a confuſion and make a ſtop as well in ſecular as eccleſiaſticall courts? And therefore our zealous reformers, if they think themſelves not too good to be adviſed by the great counſellor, ought to take heed how they raſhly and unadviſedly pluck up the tares, as they eſteem them, of holy canons and eccleſiaſticall laws, *ne ſimul eradicent & triticum*, leſt together with thoſe tares (as they count them) they pluck up by the roots the good wheat of many profitable and wholeſome laws of the common wealth and Acts of Parliament.

See *Art.* 36. & *l. de conſecrat.* It is evident to all men reading holy Scriptures & ancient authors, that from the Apoſtles time there have bin theſe three orders in the Church of Chriſt, and that a Biſhop ought to correct and puniſh ſuch as are unquiet, criminous and diſobedient within his dioceſſe, according to ſuch authoritie as he hath by the word of God.

12. But if the authoritie of both houſes could ſoon cure theſe ſores in precedent Acts of Parliament, yet how will they make up the breaches in the conſciences of all thoſe, who in the late Proteſtation and this new Covenant have taken a ſolemn oath to maintain the priviledges of the members of Parliament, and the liberties of the ſubject? The moſt authenticall evidence whereof, are *Charta magna*, and the Petition of right, in both which the rights of the Church and priviledges of epiſcopall ſees, are ſet down in the fore-front in capitall letters.

13. To ſtrain this ſtring a little higher, the power of granting *congedeliers*, together with the inveſtiture of Arch-biſhops, Biſhops, and collation of Deanries, and Prebends, with a ſetled revenue from

from the firſt fruits and tenths thereof, is one of the *faireſt flowers in the* Kings crown; and to rob the imperiall diadem of it (conſidering the King is a Perſon moſt ſacred) is ſacriledge in a high degree; and not ſacriledge only, but perjurie alſo in all thoſe who attempt it. For all Graduates in the Univerſitie, and men of rank and qualitie in the Common-wealth, who are admitted to any place of eminent authoritie or truſt take the oath of Supremacie, whereby they are bound to defend and propugne all preeminences, authorities, and prerogatives annexed to the imperiall crown, whereof this is known to be one inherent in the King, as he is ſupream head of the Church within his realms, and defender of the faith.

14. Yet for all this, admit that reaſon of ſtate ſhould inforce the extirpation of epiſcopacie thus rooted, as it hath been ſaid, both in the royall prerogative and priviledge of the ſubject and in the laws of of the land; it is a golden maxime of law, *poſſumus quod jure poſſumus*, we can doe no more then lawfully we may. If epiſcopall government muſt be overthrown, it muſt be done in a lawful way, not by popular tumults but by a Bill paſſed in Parliament, and that to be tendered to his Majeſtie for his royall aſſent; and how ſuch a bill can be preſſed upon his Majeſtie who hath taken an oath* at his Coronation, to preſerve Biſhops in their legall rights, I muſt learn from our great maſters of the law. For by the Goſpel all inducements to ſin are ſin; and ſolicitations to perjurie are tainted with that guilt: neither is there any power upon earth to diſpence with the breach of oaths lawfully taken.

15. If we deſire that this Church of *England* ſhould flouriſh like the garden of *Eden*, we muſt have an eye to the nurſeries of good learning and religion, the two Univerſities, which will never be furniſhed with choice plants, if there be no preferments and incouragements to the ſtudents there, who for the farre greater part bend their ſtudies to the Queen of all profeſſions, Divinitie; which will make but a ſlow progreſſe, if Biſhopricks, Deanries, Archdeaconries, and Prebendaries, and all other Eccleſiaſticall dignities, which like *ſilver ſpurs* prick on the induſtrie of thoſe, who conſecrate their labours and endeavours to the glorifying of God, in imploying their talent in the miniſterie of the Goſpel, be taken away. What ſayls are to a ſhip, that are affections to the ſoul; which if they be not filled with the hope of ſome rewards, and deſerved preferments

* *Vide record. in Exchequer.* I will preſerve and maintain to you & the Churches committed to your charges all Canonicall priviledges, and I will be your protector and defender to my power, by the aſſiſtance of God, as every good King in his kingdome in right ought to defend the Biſhops and Churches under their government &c. Then laying his hand on the book on the communion table, he ſayth, the things which I have before promiſed, I ſhall perform and keep, ſo help me God, and by the contents of this book.

ments, as a proſperous gale of wind, our ſacred ſtudies and endeavours will ſoon be calmed: for, * *honos alit artes; omnesque incenduntur ſtudio gloriæ; iacentque ea ſemper, quæ apud quoſque deſpectantur*; honour nouriſheth arts; and all men are inflamed with the deſire of glory; and thoſe profeſſions fall and decay, which are in no eſteem with moſt men. And if there are places both of great profit, honour, and power propounded to State-men and thoſe that are learned in the law, like rich prizes to thoſe that prove maſteries; ſhall the profeſſors of the divine law be had in leſſe eſteem then the ſtudents and practiſers in the municipall? And ſhall that profeſſion onely be barred from entring into the *temple of honour*, which directeth all men to the *temple of vertue*; and hath beſt right to honour by the promiſe of God, *honorantes me honorabo*, thoſe that honour me, I will honour; becauſe they moſt honour God in every action of their function, which immediately tendeth to his glory?

* *Cic. Tuſc. queſt.*

* *Pro Mur. tolle nonen Catonis.*

* *Statut. Ed. 3. ann. 25.* The Church of England was founded in the ſtate of prelacie, &c. for we owe to it our beſt laws made in the Saxon times, and *Charta magna* it ſelf; The union of the two Roſes, York, and Lancaſter, the marriage with Scotland; and above all, the plantation & reformation of true religion. See Vindication of Epiſcopacie, page 23, 24. See alſo the ſtatute book of 16. *Rich.* 2. where the Commons ſhew, that the Prelates were much profitable and neceſſarie to their Soveraign Lord the K. and the realm &c.

They will ſay, that Epiſcopall government hath proved inconvenient and prejudiciall to the State, and therefore the Hierarchie is to be cut down, root and branch. Of this argument we may ſay as *Cicero* doth of *Cato*, his exceptions againſt * *Murena*, let aſide the authoritie of the objectors, the objection hath very little weight in it. For it is liable to many and juſt exceptions, and admitteth of divers replyes.

Firſt, it is ſaid, that Epiſcopall government is inconvenient and miſchievous, and prejudiciall to the State; but it was never proved to be ſo.

Secondly, admit ſome good proof could be brought of it; yet if Epiſcopacie be of divine inſtitution, as hath been proved, it muſt not be therefore rooted out, but the luxurious ſtems of it pruned, and thoſe additions to the firſt inſtitution from whence theſe inconveniences have grown ought to be retranched.

Thirdly, if Epiſcopacie hath proved inconvenient, and miſchievous in this age, which was moſt * beneficiall and profitable in all former ages, the fault may be in the maladies of the patient, not in the method of cure. This age is to be reformed, not Epiſcopacie abrogated; that the libertie and looſeneſſe of theſe times will not brook the ſacred bands of Epiſcopall diſcipline, is rather a proof of the integritie thereof, then a true argument of any malignitie in it to the ſtate: without which, no effectu-

all

all * meanes or courſe can be taken, either for the ſuppreſſing ſchiſmaticks, or the continuation of a lawfull and undenyable ſucceſſion in the Miniſtery.

16. Laſtly, though ſome of late think they have brought gold and ſilver, and precious ſtones to build the houſe of God, by producing ſome ſtuff out of antiquitie, to prove the ordination of presbyters by meer presbyters; yet being put to the *teſt*, it proves meer traſh: for there can be no inſtance brought out of Scripture of any ordination, without impoſition of Apoſtolicall or Epiſcopall hands; neither hath prime antiquitie ever approved of meer presbyters laying hands one upon another, but in ortnodoxall Councels revoked, caſſated, and diſannulled all ſuch ordinations, as we may read in the Apologies of * *Athanaſius*, and elſewhere.

What ſhall I need to adde more, ſave the teſtimonie of all Chriſtians of what denomination ſoever under the cope of heaven, ſave only the muſhrom ſect of *Brownifts* ſprung up the other night, all who have given their name to Chriſt, and acknowledge and have ſome dependence on either the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* in the Eaſt, or of *Rome* in the Weſt, or of *Muſcovia* in the North, or of *Alexandria* in the South, together with the *Cophtie, Maronites, Abiſſenes*, and *Chineſes*, not onely admit of Epiſcopall government, and moſt willingly ſubmit to it, but never had, or at this day have any other? Neither is this, or can it be denyed by our *Aerians*: but they tell us, that theſe are Chriſtians at large, who hold many errors and ſuperſtitions with the fundamentals of Chriſtian doctrine: their Churches are like *oare* not *cleanſed* from earth; like *gold* not *purged* from droſſe; like threſhed *wheat*, not *fanned* from the chaff; like *meale* not *ſifted* from the bran; like *wine* not *drawn off the lees*: we are, ſay they, upon a reformation, and the new Covenant engageth us to endeavour the reformation of the Church of *England* in doctrine, worſhip, diſcipline, and government, according to the Word of God, and according to the example of the *beſt reformed Churches*. The *beſt reformed*, which are they? whether the remainders of the *Waldenſes* and *Albigenſes* in *Piemont*, and the parts adjoyning; or of the *Taborites* in *Bohemia*; or of the *Lutherans* in *Germanie*; or thoſe that are called after the name of *Calvin*, in *France*, and elſewhere.

* *Jerome adverſ. Luc. c. 4. Eccleſia ſalus à ſummi ſacerdotis dignitate pendet, cui ſi non cæteris quædam, & ab omnibus eminens detur poteſtas, tot in eccleſia efficientur ſchiſmata, quot ſacerdotes.*

Cypr. ep. 3. non aliunde hæreſes ortæ ſunt, aut nata ſchiſmata, quam inde quod ſacerdoti Dei non obtemperatur; nec unus in eccleſia ad tempus ſacerdos, & ad tempus judex vice Chriſti cogitatur.

* *Athanaſ. de pol. 2. Colluthus quidam presbyter in eccleſia Alexandrina alios presbyteros ordinare præſumſerat; ſed reſciſſa fuit ejus ordinatio, & omnes ab eo conſtituti presbyteri in laicorum ordinem redacti.* See *Epiph. hær. 75.*

The order of Biſhops begets Fathers in the Church: but the order of Presbyters ſonnes in baptiſme, but no Fathers or Doctors.

See alſo G. Abbot in his tract of the viſibilitie of the Church, and in his anſwer to Hill.

Firſt, for the *Waldenſes*, the fore-runners of *Luther*, as he himſelf confeſſeth, they had Biſhops who ordained their Paſtours; a catalogue whereof we may ſee in the hiſtorie of the *Waldenſes*, firſt written in *French*, and after tranſlated into *Engliſh* by a learned Herald.

Secondly, for the *Lutheran* Churches, they have Prelates governing them, under the titles of Arch-biſhops and Biſhops in *Poland*, *Denmark*, and *Swethland*; but under the name of Superintendents and Intendents in *Germanie*: and as for their judgement in the point, it is expreſſely ſet down in the * apologie of the *Auguſtane* confeſſion in theſe words: *we have often proteſted our earneſt deſires to conſerve the diſcipline of degrees in the Church by Biſhops.* Nay, * *Luther* himſelf, who of all men moſt bitterly inveighed againſt the Antichriſtian Hierarchie, yet puts water into his wine, adding; *let no man hereby conceive, that I ſpeak any thing againſt the ſtate of Biſhops, but onely againſt Romiſh wolves and tyrants.* Neither are the *Lutherans* of another mind at this day, witneſſe their every-way accompliſhed *Gerard: *none of us*, ſaith he, *affirmeth, that there is no difference between a Biſhop, or Freſbyter, or Prieſt; but we acknowledge a difference of degrees for good order ſake, and to preſerve concord in the Church.*

* *Apol. confeſſ. Auguſtan. c. de numero & uſu ſacrament.*) *os ſæpe proteſtati ſumus ſumma cum voluntate conſervare politiam eccleſiaſticam, & gradus in eccleſia factos etiam ſumma authoritate: ſcimus enim utili conſilio eccleſiaſticam diſciplinã hanc modo quo veteres eam deſcribunt conſtitutam.*

* *Luther. tom. 2. p. 320. Nemo contra ſtatũ epiſcoporum & veros epiſcopos, vel bonos paſtores dixtum putet, quicquid contra hos tyrannos dicitur.*

* *Gerard. de miniſterio eccleſ. Nemo noſtrum dicit nihil intereſſe inter epiſcopum, & presbyterum; ſed agnoſcimus diſtinctionem graduum propter ordinem eccleſiæ, ut concordia conſervetur.*

Here me thinks I ſee the *Smectymnians* bend their brows, and anſwer with ſome indignation: what have we to doe with *Lutherans* who have Images in their Churches, and auricular confeſſion, and maintain conſubſtantiation, and ubiquitie, and intercision of grace, and many other errors? We are of *Calvin*, and hold with the doctrine and diſcipline of *Geneva*, which hath no *allay* at all of error and ſuperſtition, but is like the pure angell-gold.

Here though I might (as many have done) crave leave to put in a legall exception againſt the authoritie of *Calvin* and *Beza* in matter of diſcipline, becauſe they had a hand in thruſting out the Biſhop of *Geneva*, and the Lay Presbyterian government was the iſſue of their brain; and we know it is naturall for parents to dote upon their own children, and accompt them farre fairer and more beautifull then indeed they are: yet ſuch was the ingenuitie of thoſe worthie reformers, and ſuch is the evidence and ſtrength of truth, that in this point, concerning the abolition of Epiſcopacie in the Church of

England,

England, I dare chuſe them as Umpires. Firſt, let **Calvin* ſpeak in his exquiſite Treatiſe concerning the neceſſitie of reforming the Church, the moſt proper place (if any where) clearly to deliver his judgement in this controverſie; where, having ript up the abuſes of the *Romiſh* Hierarchie, in the end thus he reſolves: *let them ſhew us ſuch an Hierarchie, in which the Biſhops may have ſuch preheminencie, that yet they refuſe not themſelves to be ſubject to Chriſt, that they depend upon him as the onely Head, and referre all to him, and ſo embrace brotherly ſocietie, that they are knit together by no other means then his truth, and I will confeſſe they deſerve any curſe, if there be any who will not obſerve ſuch an Hierarchie with reverence and greateſt obedience.* After him, let us hear **Beza* in that very booke which he wrote againſt *Saravia*, a Prebend of *Canterbury*, concerning different degrees in the Clergie: *but*, ſaith he, *if the reformed Churches of* England *remain ſtill ſupported with the authoritie of their Arch-biſhops and Biſhops, as it hath come to paſſe in our memorie, that they have had men of that rank, not only famous Martyrs, but moſt excellent Doctors and Paſtours (which happineſſe I, for my part, wiſh that they may continually enjoy)* &c. Surely, he that ſo highly extolled our Biſhops, and wiſhed that that order might, like the tree in the Poet, continually bring forth ſuch golden boughs and fruit, would not readily ſwear to endeavour the utter extirpation thereof.

With theſe and other ſhafts the Doctors quiver was full, though he drew out but one only (conſidering the time and the auditorie) which he took from the oath at the ordination of the Divines in that Aſſembly, which, as he conceived, tied up their hands faſt enough from ſubſcribing to the ſecond Clauſe in the Covenant: for all perſons ſo ordained, who ſwear for the extirpation of Epiſcopacie, forſwear their Canonicall obedience, and queſtion the validitie of their Orders given them, upon condition of performing ſuch obedience and ſubmiſſion as that oath enjoyneth.

* *Calv. de neceſſ. reform. eccleſiæ. Talem nobis hierarchiam ſi exhibeant, in qua ſic emineant epiſcopi, ut Chriſto ſubeſſe non recuſent, ut ab illo tanquam unico capite pendeant & ad ipſum referantur, in qua ſic inter ſe fraternam ſocietatem colant, ut non alio modo quam ejus veritate ſint colligati; tum vero nullo non anathemate dignos fateor, ſi qui erunt, qui non eam reverenter, ſummaque obedientia obſervent.*

* *Beza, de grad. miniſt. evang. c. 18. Sect. 3. Quod ſi nunc eccleſiæ inſtauratæ Anglicanæ ſuorum Epiſcoporum & Archiepiſcoporum authoritate ſuffultæ perſtant, quemadmodum hoc illis noſtra memoria contigit, ut ejus ordinis homines non tantum inſignes Dei Martyres, ſed etiam præſtantiſſimos Doctores & Paſtores habuerit, &c.*

SECT. IX.

Britanicus *his scurrilous jests at spirituall Courts retorted, and extemporarie prayers and sermons deservedly censured.*

Brit. p. 67. "HE sayes, the Doctor excepted against the *Scotch* covenant as "not agreeable to Gods Word: this is not all. For the Do-"ctor would not like it a jot worse for that, but there are not so "many reverend conveniences; you cannot have libertie of consci-"ence, and *pluralities* at once, you cannot keep an *orthodoxall coach* "and four horses, you cannot mind your businesse of *State* and *ease*, "for the *ceremonie* of constant preaching; you shall want the good "companie of Chancellours and Commissaries, and the gainfull e-"quitie of the canon law, and the goodly tyrannie of the high "Commission Courts, and the comfortable use of the keyes over a "pottle of Sack in the Chancellours chamber.

Ans. If thou hadst any *vermilion* tincture of modestie *Britanicus*, thou wouldst blush to charge the Doctor with negligence in preaching, or *coaching* it with four horses, or *gleeking* it on the Lords day: for it is well known to all that know him, that he never kept coach with four horses, nor playd at gleek in his life, much lesse on the Lords day. And for his constant diligence in preaching, for 35 years and more, if I should hold my peace, the prime and chief pulpits in the Universitie and *London* would say enough to stop thy mouth, and open all ingenuous mens, to yield a testimonie to a known truth. But thou art possessed with *Martin Marprelates devill*, which *Urbanus* will shortly conjure out of thee. The *power of the* keyes is a great eye-sore to thee, for those of thy sect like not to stand in white sheets, though if the world belye you not, none better deserve it: for *Papists* and *Brownists*, like *Sampsons foxes*, though they are severed in the heads, they are joyned in the *tails*. And doubtlesse, when thou wert summoned by an Apparitor for committing *follie with an elect Sister*, & waitedst in the Chancellors chamber, it was then that thou heldst thy nose so long over a *pottle of Sack*, till thy brains *crowed*. For what *Chimera's*, *Tragelaphusses*, and *Hippocentaurs* dost thou talk of? *reverend conveniences*, *orthodoxall* *coa-*

coaches, and buſineſſe of State, and eaſe, the ceremonie of conſtant preaching and goodly tyrannie of the high commiſſion Court, as if that court now ſtood? What thy intoxicated brain conceiveth, or thy looſe tongue would have underſtood by *reverend conveniences*, and *orthodoxall coaches*, I underſtand not; unleſſe thou alludeſt to that noble mans conveniencie, who had a *reverend coachman* for his preacher; whoſe doctrine, very agreeable to his profeſſion, was, that a *ſtable was every way as holy a Church*, (and for my part, I wiſh thoſe of his ſtrain may *have no other Church*,) or thou hadſt a fling at the Doctors ſucceſſour in *Acton*, who rideth every Lords day in triumph in a coach drawn with four horſes to *exerciſe* there. M. *Nye*. What thou talkeſt of buſineſſe of ſtate and eaſe, thou underſtandeſt not thy ſelf; if there be buſineſſe in ſtate, ſurely there is *little eaſe*; buſineſſe *of ſtate and eaſe* are a kind of *aſyſtata*; *non bene conveniunt nec in una ſede morantur*; if there were ever ſuch a calm in the ſtate, that the ſteermen might take their eaſe, yet certainly never ſince your *Boreas* blew in the Church. If that character might truly be given of any, it may of your ſect; *turba gravis pacis placidæque inimica quieti*: you are the naturall ſons of *Iſmael*, *your hands are againſt all men and all mens hands againſt you*. But here thou ſecretly girdeſt at our Biſhops ſitting in Parliament, and our Doctors on the Bench of Juſtice; that is a great eye-ſore to you, as if it were agreeable to reaſon or religion for Lay-men to meddle with all Eccleſiaſticall matters as now they doe, and Eccleſiaſticall perſons to meddle with no ſecular; or the Apoſtles argument were of no force, thoſe who are fit Judges of the higheſt caſes of conſcience, and ſhall one day judge the Angells, are much more able to judge men, and compoſe differences of a lower nature. Certainly, the ſuperiour ſcience is better able to judge of the concluſions of an inferiour, then the inferiour of a ſuperiour. Yea, but this is a diſtraction from their ſacred function: none at all, if, as thou here ſayeſt, the handling of ſuch buſineſſe is a *matter of eaſe*: yet admit it be ſome diſtraction and trouble to Clergie-men to keep the peace, & compoſe ſecular differences amongſt thoſe of their flock; yet that religious Biſhop S. *Auguſtine* yields a good reaſon for it; why for the good of ſouls godly paſtors muſt not refuſe this troubleſome work: *otium ſanctum quærit charitas veritatis, ſed negotium juſtum ſuſcipit neceſſitas charitatis*, the love of truth deſires the reſt of contemplation, but the neceſſitie of charitie puts manifold buſineſſes upon us.

But, I pray thee, tell me what thou meaneſt by the *ceremonie of preaching*. This is thy peculiar dialect, never any to my knowledge teatmed it ſo before thee; if ſome too much addicted to prayer have too much ſlightned preaching; as on the contrarie, ſome too much addicted to preaching have to much vilified common-prayer: what is this to the Doctor, who was ever both for diligent preaching, and conſtant prayer? For neither can a man pray as he ought without direction from preaching, nor preach powerfully without prayer: and as it is an abſurd kind of preaching, to preach againſt preaching; ſo it is a moſt unholy prayer to pray *ex tempore* againſt the ſet-forms of prayer allowed by the Church. The publique preaching of the word is a ſubſtantiall part of Gods worſhip, and very impiouſly called by thee a *ceremonie*, unleſſe the word be applyed to your *ex tempore* Enthuſiaſts, whoſe preaching is nothing elſe but a meer ceremonie of lifting up the hands and eyes, and moving the lips, and beating the cuſhion, and varying phraſes, and *plundering* an Engliſh concordance. *Cicero* in his book intituled *Orator*, ſpeaks of *negligentia quadam diligens*, a careſull avoyding of accurate penning and neglect of ornaments of ſpeech; *there is*, ſaith he, *a diligent kind of negligence* conſiſting in the *weeding out the flowers of rhetorick*: but I may truly ſay of theſe mens preaching, that we may obſerve in it a negligent kind of diligence, an idle kind of labour; and though they *exerciſe* twice every Lords day, and *lecture it* moſt dayes of the week, & *kill their hearers* at every *funerall ſermon* with the tedious prolixitie therof; yet unleſſe they take more pains in compoſing their ſermon, then they doe, they ſhall never eſcape the curſe of the Prophet: *woe be to them that doe the work of the Lord negligently.*

Sect. X.

Of the abuſe of appropriations of benefices, and the neceſſitie of Pluralities as, the caſe ſtandeth.

ENough of your preaching, whereof all men *ſurfeit*: now to the grand crime you charge our prelaticall clergie with, the defence of Pluralities, and Non-reſidence; in ſome caſe Pluralities is no *ſingle crime* with the *Brownists* of a *deep dye*, who by their good will would have all that ſerve at the Lords Table their *trencher-chaplaini*,

laïs, wherein they exceed the ſin of *Jeroboam*: for his was, that he took of the *loweſt of the people*, and made them *prieſts of the high places*: but theſe take from the higheſt of the Clergie their deſerued rewards and prefermẽts, and endeavour to reduce them to the loweſt rank of their hirelings, that ſo they that wear the *ſacred Ephod*, may be every way ſutable to their *apron-men*. So cunning is Satan, when he transformeth himſelf into an Angell of light, that he maketh religion her ſelf an advocate to plead for ſacrilege. Forſooth, if the miniſters of the Goſpel be well provided for in their bodies & temporall eſtate they wil take leſſe care of other mens ſouls: *Jupters* golden cloak is too heavie for him to bear, the weight of two benefices is enough to break the back a Clergie-man: yet their Lecture-men can hold two Lectures; the Aſſemblie-men two ſequeſtrations; and your Lay-patrons (or rather latrons) as many impropriations as they can purchaſe with their uſe-money. *C. B.* can keep *Watford*, a benefice ſaid to be worth 200 *li. per annum*, with a Lecture in *Pauls*, for which he is to be allowed out of the revenues of the Cathedrall Church 400 *li. per annum*. *S. M.* for a long ſpace held his benefice in *Eſſex*, and the Curates gainfull employment at *Weſtminſter*, and a preachers place in the Armie, and yet he no way *guiltie of the bloodie ſin of Non-reſidence*. In the Legend of Saint *Francis* written by *Vincentius Bellovacenſis* there is one chapter intituled, *de ſancta ejus hypocriſi*, *of his holy hypocriſie*: this chapter you *Browniſts* have conned by heart, for there is not ſuch holy hypocriſie and hypocriticall holineſſe in any ſect of the world, as in yours; ſave the Jeſuits, whom before you followed cloſe at heels, but now have out-ſtripped them. You cannot be ignorant, that as things now ſtand in the Church, there is a neceſſitie of Pluralities. Of the 9000 livings with cure in this Kingdom, there are above 4000 ſo caſtrated by ſacrilegious appropriations, that in very many places in this Kingdom, that which remaineth for the incumbent is no way ſufficient to ſupport him and his family; either then his means muſt be pieced out with another living, or he periſh for want of corporall, and his pariſhioners for want of ſpirituall food. In every Parliament ſince the reformation there hath been a bill againſt Pluralities purſued with all vehemencie and eagerneſſe, but ever ſtopt with a croſſe bill againſt appropriations: *ubi ille nominaverit Phadriam, tu Pamphilam*: let impropriations and Pluralities either ſtand together, or fall together. So long as impropriations ſtand,

and

and the bounds of parishes are not altered, nor some other course taken to make single livings competent and correspondent both to the pains and parts of the incumbent, there will be a necessitie of Pluralities. Yea, but Pluralities are sins and there can be no necessitie of sinning; if Pluralitie be a sin, they themselves have taken an oath to maintain sin in the Church, for they have taken an oath and made Protestation to maintain the priviledges of Parliament, and libertie of subjects: among which, the capacitie of holding more benefices with cure is one confirmed by Act of Parliament. If it be unlawfull to hold more benefices with cure within convenient distance, it is either *malum quia prohibitum*, or *prohibitum quia malum*; it is either evill because prohibited, or prohibited because evill in it self. It is not evill because prohibited, because the law of God no where sets out the limits of parishes, nor confineth the pains of a pastor within such narrow limits: all that the divine law requires, is, that every pastor carefully by himself, and by his *fellow-labourers*, which the holy Scripture expressely mentioneth, feed that flock whereof the holy Ghost hath made him over-seer: and from whence he is to receive comfortable maintenance, whether this flock be comprised within the limits of one parish or no. For parishes were first distinguished, not by Gods law, but by the Popes; and with such disproportion, that some parishes are too much for any one to supplie them; and others make not a convenient flock for a man of meanest parts to feed and attend on. Neither is Pluralitie prohibited by any law, *quia malum in se*, because it is evill in it self; for none of the preciest make scruple of conscience to hold any one benefice of never so great value: which notwithstanding hath divers chappells of ease annexed unto it, in which it is impossible for a man to be resident and officiate the cure in person at once. If they will say, he may discharge both by himself and his curate; so may he also do who hath two benefices: and let the parishioners both of *Lambeth* and *Acton* testifie, whether those benefices were not better supplyed by the Doctor himself, and his two learned and able curates, then now they are by those two who enjoy the sequestration of his benefices, who have been perpetually non-resident from both, and neither by themselves nor substitutes so much as once administred the Sacrament of the Lords Supper unto them, though the best of the parishioners have most earnestly desired it.

SECT. XI.

SECT. XI.

That the abjuration of Episcopacie, especially in the Clergie of England, *involveth them in perjurie and sacriledge.*

" THe Doctor excepted against the *extirpation of prelacie,* Brit. p. 68.
" Deanes, & Prebends, because he thought it not of Apostolical
" institution: no, there is another reason of more force with the Do-
" ctor and the prelaticall partie, they must have another kind of
" divinitie, and more *beneficiall positions*; they love not these *na-*
" *ked truths*, which are not able to maintain their *sattin cassocks*,
" nor those rigid opinions which will not allow a *game at gleek*
" after evening prayer.

Canis festinans cæcos parit catulos: thou (or the Printer, *Britanicus*,) making more haste then good speed, hast stumbled at *pons asinorum*; and thou *stammerest out perfect non-sense*; thou sayest the Doctor excepted against the extirpation of prelacie, because he thought it not of Apostolicall institution, thou should'st have said, because he thought it to be of Apostolicall institution: for so indeed he thinketh, and will maintain his tenet against all the disciples of *Aerius* the heretick, the first patron of paritie in the clergy; whether they be *plant-animals*, I mean lay-presbyters, or atomes; that is, Independents, whose arguments are like themselves, all together independent and inconsequent. But why dost thou deliver the Doctors mind by halfs? He did not only except against that clause in the new covenant, wherein Episcopacie is abjured, and the extirpation vowed of that plant, which the Apostles themselves planted, and we in our publique liturgie established by law pray to God to pour upon them the continuall dew of his blessing, because he held such an oath to be repugnant to an Apostolicall institution; but also because he conceived that horrible sacriledge was couched under it. For upon the taking away of Episcopacie, root and branch, will undoubtedly follow the confiscation of the lands of Bishops, and cathedrall Churches, or at least alienation from those holy uses, to the maintenance whereof, they were dedicated: and is it a small matter, thinkest thou *Britanicus*, to violate the sacred testa- Ans.

ments, and last wills of many hundred religious christians, and to draw the guilt of sacriledge in the highest degree upon the land, which alreadie groaneth under the heavie burden of too many haynous sins, and bewayleth them in all parts of this Realm with teares of blood?

SECT. XII.

Of profitable doctrines and beneficiall positions, held by Brownists and Sectaries.

AS for that thou wouldst imply, that the Doctor advanced Episcopacie to an Apostolicall institution, as *Cicero* extolled eloquence to the skie, that he might be lifted up with her; thou foulie mistakest the matter, the Doctor is known to affect that Dutch Worthie his temper, upon whose grave *James Douza* strewed that *flower* among others: *honores quia merebatur, contempsit; & quia contempsit, magis merebatur*; because he deserved honours, he contemned them; and because he contemned them, he much more deserved them. The whole course of his life refutes that base calumnie thou castest upon him: For,

1. After he first shewed himself in publique preaching, in his course at S. *Maries* in *Oxford*; he was commended by the Vicechancellor and Universitie to the Kings Majesties Embassador Lidget in *France*, where Cardinall *Perone*, *homo fama potius magna, quam bona*, by his agents thought to inveagle him to Popery, by promise of far greater preferments then ever he could expect in *England*: but the Doctor esteemed no better of that motion, then of the devills offer to our Saviour; *all these things will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me*: for he was so far from turning out of his course, to take up these golden apples, that contrariewise he followed the harder after the *price of his high calling*, and encountred all the Romish Priests, Jesuits, and *Sorbon* Doctors whersoever he met them, even to the hazard of his life; and God gave such a blessing to his many combats for the faith there, that he reclaimed divers from poperie, and confirmed many that were wavering in the true reformed religion.

See the testimonies of Dr. *Moulin*, and other forraign divines in the Coroll. 11.

2. After his return into *England*, when the great favourite bore all

all the sway, and the Doctor might have *climbed* to preferment by that *ladder*, by reason of his ancient acquaintance with the Duke; and the dedication of a book to his dearest consort, which she very much desired: yet understanding that the Duke for some politick ends sided with the *Arminian* faction, he brake off all dependence upon that favourite, and wrote a smart book against the *Arminians*, called *Pelagius redivivus*; and thereby dashed all hopes of his preferment then at court. The hand-maid to devotion.

3. After the Dukes death, when those that sate at the helm of the Church, and had great power also at court, to procure the greater libertie to the Protestants in popish Countries, and to draw her Majestie to a better liking of the reformed religion, sought to reduce the Church of *England* to a nearer conformitie to the Roman, at least in some scholasticall tenets and outward ceremonies and gestures with them; and to *smooth* the more *rugged* positions of poperie, was thought a readie means to facilitate the way to preferment: the Doctor *declined* this *rode* also, & though he desired nothing more then the uniting of all christians in the faith first given to the Saints, and the doctrine of the primitive Church; yet he could never endure those who went about to *sodder* the Roman and reformed religion, and to *bring Christ and Anti-christ to an enterview*: neither would he ever be brought to varie in his practice a nailes breadth from the canons of the Church of *England*, and rubrick of the Common Prayer.

4. After the scene was turned, and many who before had layen in obscuritie, were brought upon the stage; who like the statues of *Brutus* and *Cassius*, *eò præfulgebant, quod non visebantur*, did shine the brighter, the more they were hid. The Doctor among others, was chosen by 390 votes to be a member of the Assemblie; and, among many other of eminent parts and worth, was designed by the whole house of commons, to answer a popish Priest, which he did accordingly; and was in so fair a way, that if his conscience had been a Lesbian rule, and would have *bowed that way*, where preferments are now offered, he might not only have held both his benefices, but expected such farther priviledges, as the chief of the Assemblie now enjoy. But when a covenant was tendered, wherein he must of necessitie proclaim his ingratitude to the world, by swearing to endeavour the ruine of those, upon whom under God he built his chief hopes, and intangle his conscience in evident perjurie, The Author of the book, intituled; *A safeguard from Ship wrak*

rie, by swearing to break all his canonicall oaths; necessitie constrained him to break off from the Assemblie, and for this cause he is now in bonds and stript of all his ecclesiasticall preferments, and temporall revenues; *& nudus nudum Christum sequitur*, and followes his naked Saviour himself also stark naked.

But to leave off this sad and melancholie discourse, and come to the *beneficiall positions*, and *sattin cassock* thou talkest of, and *game at gleek*: thou shouldest have said *-noddie*; a game at which thou playest as well Sundays as working-days. For *beneficiall positions*, I know none held by the prelaticall clergie, as your schismaticall laicks learne them, save this which the Apostle hath delivered, *the godlinesse is great gain, and hath the promises of this life, and the life to come*: but I can tell you of fruitfull doctrines and beneficiall uses, raysed by your Enthusiasts; as namely, that usurie, after it hath been with a barber chyrurgion, and hath its teeth pluckt out, is very lawfull, and that those of your sect alone have a right to the creature, and that the wicked have no right or title to any thing they possesse: and that therefore, when you plunder any Malignant you steal not, but take your own from them; and agreeable to your positions is your practise, you make no bones to devoure widows houses, under colour of long prayers; like vultures you hover over dead corpses, and thereout suck no small advantage; if any rich man be going the way of all flesh, some of your fraternitie must be sent for with all speed to pray his soul *ex tempore* into heaven; and after you have perswaded him to set his house in order, for he must dye and not live, and he is going to draw his last will and testament, you will be sure to have a finger in it, or rather a claw, or naile to scrape and scratch something for your selves, under the title of pious legacies.

Ames forbiddeth not all usurie, but biting usurie in his *Cases of Conscience.*

Sect. XIII.

Of ministeriall habits, recreations on the Lords day, and how the Brownists and sectaries prophane the Christian Sabbath.

HAst thou yet any better stuff in thy shop, *Britannicus*, besides the large mourning weed beg'd artificially at the last funerall of a saint? Yes, a sattin cassock surely, a decent garment for a grave divine,

divine, eſpecially on high dayes: what wouldſt thou have the reverend clergy to weare? wouldſt thou have them go in *cuerpo*, like your *new England* and *Holland* theologues? or in a rocket lined through with pluſh or taffata, as ſome of the Aſſembly men flaunt it? or in a ſhort jacket, much like the riding coat of *Davids* Embaſſadors, which was cut off at *os ſacrum*, the huckle bone? Here *Brit.* thou playſt the baſe cynick, *calcas faſtum Platonis*, thou trampleſt upon *Plato's* pride, but remember what *Plato* repli'd; *calcas faſtum, ſed alio faſtu*, thou trampleſt upon the pride of ſome of the clergy in their apparell, but thou doſt it in a worſe kind of pride. *Plutarch Apoph.*

As for card-playing, I need not *gleek* it with thee, for we are at play already; thy *carnoſt* is nothing but *jeſts*, and thoſe very ſcurrilous and ridiculous; and therefore either to be ſcorned or retorted upon thee in *ſober ſadneſſe*. The Doctor is no player at cards or dice, nor approveth at all any recreations on the Lords day, but ſuch as, like *Aarons* golden plate in his miter, have holineſſe ſtamped on them: As for thoſe of thy preciſe ſect, they indeed will not for a world play a game at cards or tables on the Lords day, after evening prayer; but they do far worſe, they take away morning and evening prayer both, and *I fear* out the ſacred liturgy of the church: if thou art come to thy ſelf *Brit.* and haſt thy wits about thee, prethee tell me, is it not better playing a game at tables on the chriſtian ſabbath, wherin a wooden man is taken up without any loſſe or hurt? or at cheſſe, in which there is an image of men ſet in battail array, there to caſt the *bloody die of war* on that day, to kill, to pillage, to plunder? of the two I had rather ſee *latrunculos*, on that day then *latrones*, cheſſe-men then preſſed-men: notwithſtanding to chuſe, you rifle houſes, and ſequeſter malignants on that day; your city magiſtrates and Officers will not ſuffer a poor waterman to rowe on the Thames yet they permit the ſouldiers in all the courts of guard, and forts, and ſhips to drink and ſwell all the day: a phyſitian may not paſſe over the river to ſave the life of the body, not a divine to ſave the life of the ſoul, yet they account it a ſanctifying of the ſabbath to beat up drums and preſſe ſouldiers, to kill men on that day: O preciſe hypocriſie, or rather hypocriticall preciſeneſſe! A devout father ſharply reproving the evill converſation of ſome chriſtians in his time told them to their faces, *gentes agitis ſub nomine Chriſti*, you act the parts of Gentiles in the habit of Chriſtians: but

but I may truly say of you, *Judæos agitis sub nomine Christi*, you act the parts of *Jewes* in the habit of Christians: *Jewes*, I say, in the rigid observation of the Sabbath; of *Jewes*, in venting your spleen and malice against Christ, by excluding his prayer out of your liturgie; by defacing his name *Jesus* whersoever you see it written in golden characters, or wrought in cloth of gold or tissue, or stampt in holy vessels, calling it the *Jesuits* trim or garb by inveighing against keeping the feast of the nativity, resurrection and ascension, and terrifying those that in a religious compassion fast & mourn on good friday; your beating down with axes and hammers the carved works of the temple, wherin there is any monument of him; and which is far worse, persecuting his meniall servants, the most faithfull and orthodoxall ministers of the gospell unto bonds and death.

SECT. XIIII.

Of *the subscription of the letter written to the* Primate of Armagh, ΦΔ *and the signification therof.*

Brit. p. 68.

" HE tels us of Sir *Walter Earles* interpretation of Φ and Δ
" the two *Greek* letters: *Aulicus*, you see we have some ho-
" nest *Greeks*, that can find out your villanies, though you hide
" them in another language; I thinke you will translate your
" mischiefs in time into all languages: oh these doctors treache-
" ries are very learned pieces; this is to shew their scholarship,
" and traiterous abilities, that they are able to betray us in *Greek*,
" as well as in English.

Answ. Because thy animadversions upon the doctors letter scorpion-like thrust out a *sting* in the *taile*; I will first pluck out the sting, and then crush the serpent to pieces, and rub it upon the part. First then whereas thou chargest the doctor with villainy and treacherie: I answer, that this is *villainous* language; but because most false and slanderous, the villain will return upon thy self, and the traytor upon thy *forma informans A. Wardner*. I grant it is villany and treachery to betray the secrets of state, wherwith a man is trusted, to the enemy; but resolves of Synods are no secrets of state, nor is the King an

an enemy of the ſtate; if thou ſayſt ſo, *Brit.* thou art a traytor, and *reus læſæ majeſtatis*: had the doctor acquainted his Majeſty by the primate of *Armagh* what paſt in the Aſſembly, it had bin no villany or treachery, but piety and loyalty ſo to doe; for the King is the defender of the faith, and the P. of *Armagh* is a noble champion therof: all treachery is either of things or perſons: what or whom did the Doctor betray? firſt what? did he betray forts, or cittadels or treaſure or magazins of armourie, or cabin-councels? no word or ſyllable in all the intercepted advertiſement of any ſuch thing. There is mention of nothing but of ſome doctrinall concluſions and theologicall propoſitions *de fide, quæ tradi debent prodi non poſſunt*, which cannot be betrayed, yet ought to be delivered. If the Aſſembly of divines reſolve upon ſuch articles of religion, as cannot endure the light, it is not only lawfull but a neceſſary duty of a faithfull miniſter of Chriſt Ieſus, to detect them, and to diſcover the abettors of them to the ſupream head of the church under Chriſt, that he may prevent the danger the body is like to be in. *Tertullian* aſigneth it as a proper note of hereticks, that they conceal their tenents from the governours of the church, and the common ſort of Chriſtians alſo, and inſtill them ſecretly into the eares of confiding proſelites; *occultant quod prædicant, ſi tamen prædicant quod occultant*, and wilt thou brand the divines of the Aſſembly with this mark of hereticks? *Tertul. præſcript.*

But the truth is, the Doctor held no correſpondencie by Letters, nor was an Aſſembly-Spie, nor ſent, nor intended to ſend any Letter towards *Oxford*, ſave onely that one unſealed that was intercepted, which alſo by a falſe ſuggeſtion was cunningly drawn from him, and preſently ſhewed the cloſe Committee, and a copie taken of it, and the originall ſent by them to *Oxford*, and the *Carrier* preferred to a gainfull place in the Armie. By theſe ſteps, *Britannus*, if thou canſt not *ſent* and *trace* the *traitor* from the *Bridge*-foot to *Lambeth*, from *Lambeth* to the cloſe Committee, from the cloſe Committee to *Oxford*, from *Oxford* to the Committee for Examinations, and from thence to the Leaguer at S. *Albans*, thou haſt no noſe.

Yea but the Letter was ſubſcribed not with the Doctors name in *Engliſh* but with two *Greek* characters, Δ and Φ, and is that treaſon? Then ſurely to ſubſcribe and much more to write a whole letter in *Greek*, as the Doctor hath done many, to *Cyril* Patriarch

of

of *Conſtantinople*, *Metrophanes* Patriarch of *Alexandria*, and diverſe others, muſt needs be high treaſon, and ſuch a treaſon as none of your *Browniſticall* Lecturers or Teachers are guiltie of. I had thought, that the *Latin* had beene onely the language of the beaſt, but now I perceive, that any learned language is with you not only Poperie and hereſie, but alſo treaſon; becauſe it is like the *Maſſe*, an unknowne tongue to you, and *betrayeth* your ignorance, who have skill of no other language then your mothers tongue, and *canting*.

Yea, but the Δ and the Φ were not written ſeverally, and diſtinctly, but one in another, after the manner of numerals in *Greek* characters, and the Φ was ſomewhat above the Δ, and therein certainly ſome myſterie of iniquitie lyeth hid, which none of all the Committee but Sir *Walter Earle* could reveal; I pray thee what was that? namely, that by theſe characters was ſignified not *D. F.* but *Fidelitie*: *O divinam ariolum, ô Chryſippeum acumen*; O quinteſſence of wit, O rare *Criticiſme*! Yet, by Sir *Walters* leave, this conceit will *ſhrink* in the *wetting*: for there is a difference betweene *Phi.* and *Fi.* and *Delta* and *Delitie*: neither was the Φ written above the Δ, but in the middle of it, after this manner, which marres the *quiblet*. Yet if the *wits* will have it ſo, let it paſſe for a curious and quaint conjecture. Admit that Φ and Δ *Phi* and *Delta* is to be conſtrued *Fidelitie*, and that as the Doctor carrieth *loyaltie* in his heart, ſo alſo *fidelitie* in the two firſt letters of his name tranſpoſed, what wilt thou hence inferre, *Britanicus*; *ergo*, the Doctor is a villain and a traitor? now *Phi* upon the *Delta*, dunces, or rather *Beta*, *Britanicus*.

Ut ſapiant ſatuæ fabrorum prandia Betæ,
*O quam ſæpè petet vina piperque *Cocus?*

* Cook at the Bridge foot.

SECT. XV.

Wholeſome and ſeaſonable advice to Britanicus.

TO knit up all in a true *lovers knot*: I know thee not by face, *Britanicus*, but onely *ex ungue*, by thy *naile*, which I find ſtutting in every ſore, in Church and Common-wealth, whereby thou exaſpe-

exaſperateſt all ſorts of men againſt thee, and haſt ſtirred a *neſt* of *hornets*; which, if thou look not to it, will *ſting* thee to death; *noli aculeos, qui reconditi ſunt, excuſſos arbitrari*; think not thoſe ſtings thruſt or pluckt out which lye hid, and for a time drawn in. Great *Britain*, *Britannicus*, hath been of late made a ſtage, wherein bloudie *tragedies* have been acted, and after every ſcene thou thruſteſt thy ſelf in among the *Chorus*, and freely cenſureſt all the *actors* at thy pleaſure; give over thy *part* in time, and get off the *ſtage*: the *Protaſis* is paſt, we are now in the *Epitaſis*, God knowes what the *Cataſtrophe* will prove. In the mean while, take heed thou inſult not upon calamitie, Κινδυνῷ γὰρ ἡ τυχὴ, ἐν ᾧ μάλιστα ἀόριστος, the fall of the Die is uncertain, and thou knoweſt not what may be thy chance. He that out of curioſitie lookt into the table hanged up in the market place, wherein the names of the *Proſcripti* by *Sylla* were ſet in their order, at unawares ſpyed his own name written in *bloudie characters*: *cuivis contingere poteſt, quod cuiquam poteſt*; that which is any ones caſe may be every ones caſe. Strengthen not the hands of thoſe whoſe *fingers itch* at the treaſure of the Church, it will prove like *Sejanus horſe*, which none ever beſtrid; or the gold of *Tholouſe*, which none ever touched but he came to an ill end. Neither revile thou the ſervants of the living God, neither put ſcorns upon his Prophets: be not ſo graceleſſe, as to take a pride in diſgracing thoſe, whom God hath appointed to be the inſtruments and ſilver conduit-pipes to conveigh *grace* into thy ſoul. A jeer only at the Prophet *Eliſha*, and that by *innocents*, proved *nocent*, and their bodies were all to rent and torn with Beares, who touched only the thin hayr of the Prophets head, crying, *goe thou bald-pate*. If thou wilt needs prove maſteries with thy pen, chuſe thy match, beware of *impar congreſſus*.

Cic. pro Sylla.

Iſocr. ad Damonicum.

Ἀρχὰν δὲ μὴ ἰδίαν ποιοῦ κρείσσονος ἀντιφέρειν
Νικᾶν τε γὰρ ἐσθλὸν ἐπὶ κακοῖσι πόνος καὶ ἄεθλα πέλει.

Heſiod. l. 1. op. & dies.

He is a ſtark ideot who will contend with his betters; for beſides loſſe of victorie he gaines blows into the bargain.

If *Patroclus* will encounter *Hector*; and *Amycus Pollux*; and *Dares Entellus*; and the *Syrens* the *Muſes*; and the blind worm the *Baſilisk*, they muſt take that which followed; above all things

ſhoot not thy *Porcupey's quills* at ſoveraign Majeſtie; though thou thinkeſt thou goeſt inviſible, as if thou hadſt *Gyges* ring, or were compaſſed with *Homers* dark pavilion: yet the daughter of time will deſcry thee, and thou ſhalt find by wofull experience, how dangerous a thing it is, *in eum ſcribere qui poteſt proſcribere*, it is not ſafe medling with edge tooles, nor ſcribling againſt him who hath power to proſcribe.

Adag. Homerica nube tectus. Veritas temporis filia.

LEX TALIONIS:
OR,
A ſober reckoning with CIVICUS.

AFter *Britanicus*, or rather *Barbaricus*, had mingled his ink with the over-flowing of his own gall: his brother *Civicus*, rather to *vend* his ſorrie pamphlet, then to *vent* his ſpleen againſt *D. F.* hath a fling at the *gentle laſh*, and would fain ſqueez ſome poyſonous juyce out of the Doctors *ſponge*.

A Book ſo intituled.

SECT. XVI.

Mercurius Civicus taken to task.

Occurrents Numb. 2. Jan. 12.

"THere is a croſſe to be erected at *Oxford*, *Jan.* 22. to crucifie "the Parliament now at *Weſtminſter*, and *D. F.* hath prepa- "red a laſh, and a vinegar ſponge, hoping to get an executioners "place: he wrote his own motto, *the gentle laſh*, yet he would "fain ſee the white flag died in blood. But the Parliament have "done well to clip the wings of the Clergie, that they may flye "into no temporall places, whoſe tongues and pens have uttered "ſuch poyſon againſt the Parliament and in their pride would wil- "lingly adhere to *Rome*, as by many ſuperſtitions by them doted "on,

" on, doth plainly appear; who, by their *Babylonian* ceremonies, " have long endeavoured to make a bridge into the Church by *Ar-* " *minianiſme* to paſſe over into Poperie.

Sic periiſſe frontem de rebus? What a brow of braſſe and conſci- *Anſ.*
ence ſeared with a hot iron, haſt thou *Civicus*? that thou dareſt ſtain paper with ſuch notorious untruths and ſhameleſſe ſlanders? There can hardly be named any divine in this Kingdom now living, who hath diſputed, preached, written, and printed, more againſt Poperie and *Arminianiſme*, then *D. F.* witneſſe *Vertumnus Romanus*, printed by the command of the houſe of Commons; the Supplement to the book of *Martyrs*; the *Fiſher* caught, and held in his own net; the *Grand Sacriledge*, the caſe for the Spectacles, *Cygnea Cant.* Tranſubſtantiation exploded; and *Pelagius redivivus*; *Ancilla pietatis*; and *Clavis Myſtica: citius crimen honeſtum quam turpem Canonem feceris*: thou ſhalt ſooner be able to prove the Proteſtant Religion to be Poperie, and *Arminianiſme* true chriſtianitie, then the Doctor guiltie of either. What crime then canſt thou charge him withall? a haynous ſin, and that of *commiſſion*: for he was many years in the *commiſſion of the peace*: thou ſhouldſt have added, that all that while he neither preached ſermon, nor printed book leſſe than before. Let the Borough of *Southwark*, with the adjacent parts, inform thee, whether the Common-wealth gained not more by that his impolyment then the Church loſt. If the Doctor, to confer with ſchiſmaticks, and refractorie perſons to the Kings eccleſiaſticall laws, and canons of the Church referred to him by the Judge; if to compoſe differences between neighbours, and ſtifle a world of litigious ſuits in the birth: if to take order for the relief of hundreds of poor and diſeaſed perſons in a dangerous time of infection, when other commiſſioners rather provided for their own ſafetie by flight, then the ſafetie of others, by the executing of their office, he defalked ſome time from his ſacred ſtudies: peradventure, this preſent age, rather jealous of, then zealous for the Church, will blame him for it; but the former would have thanked him for it, as they did *Niſſene*, and *Ambroſe*, and *Auguſtine*, and *Jewell*, whoſe temporall dignitie and power no way eclipſed their ſpirituall eminencie, no more then it did the Prieſts, 2 *Chron.* 19, 8. ſet by *Jehoſaphat* for the judgement and cauſe of the Lord.

Yet thou wilt ſay, that to diſcharge the function of a Paſtor, and execute the office of a Juſtice of peace, are incompatible. No more

then to teach and to make peace, to *preach* down and to *beat down* vice, to *wound the hairie scalp of every one that goeth on* in his prophaneneſſe, and drunkenneſſe, and uncleaneſſe, and routs, and riots, both with the ſpirituall and temporall ſword, which in former ages were aiding and aſſiſting one to the other, according to *Bracton* his obſervation; *gladius gladium juvat*: but now *hack and hew* one the other. If all peace-makers are bleſſed, ſurely as well the religious *Juſtice of peace* as the preacher of peace; and if both concur in one perſon, he muſt needs have a double ſhare in that bleſſing: but thou art of another mind, *thine eye is evill*, becauſe the *Prince* or ſtate are *good* to the Church, arming her with ſome temporall power, the more effectually to compaſſe her ſpirituall ends, and defend her children from violence and wrong. Thou ſay'ſt the Parliament hath done well to *clip the wings of the Clergie, that they may flye into a temporall place*. I will not anſwer thee, that many former Parliaments have *imped* them: but for Acts of Parliament, they are not for us to cenſure, but to obey; what the Parliament hath done, their Act ſpeaketh: and therefore I will be ſilent.

Mat. 5. 9.

See the ſtatut. 16. *Rich.* 2. and the 25 of *Edw.* 3.

Yet ſince that Act, divers of the Clergie *great in your books*, (but *none other*) have flown into temporall places: one hath flown into an *examiners place* in *Haberdaſhers-hall*; another into a *commiſſioners place* for *Scotland*, a third into a *Gaolers place* at *Lambeth*; *arrige aures Pamphile*. So, it ſeemeth, it matters not much, *quid*, but *quis*; not what the imployment is, but who it is that is imployed: for if he be a malignant, all is traſh that he takes; but if a confiding man, all *is fiſh that comes to his net*: yea, that golden table which the *Milesian* fiſhers caught, and *Apollo* adjudged to the wiſeſt man then living. Howſoever, to be in the commiſſion of the peace, without ſeeking it, and to diſcharge that truſt faithfully, without any abatement or diminution of diligence in his paſtorall function was no blemiſh, but an ornament; no diſgrace, but a dignitie to the Doctor: it gave him more power, it took nothing from his reputation; it blurred not but *blazon'd* his armes. Yet thou pickeſt a quarrell with him for executing juſtice upon unlicenſed ſcribblers, as before upon unlicenſed tiplers: thou feeleſt the ſmart of his *gentle laſh*, and put'ſt finger in the eye, crying and complaining there is "a croſſe "to be erected at *Oxford*, *Jan.* 22. to crucifie the Parliament now "at *Weſtminſter*.

See *Sphynx Philoſophica.*

Say it over again, a croſſe erected at *Oxford*, to crucifie the then there

there are forty ſeven miles at leaſt between the croſſe and the perſons to be faſtened to it; a ſtrange thing to erect a croſſe at *Oxford*, to crucifie ſuppoſed delinquents at *Weſtminſter*; and more ſtrange that an act of pardon and grace, & the holding out of a *golden ſcepter of mercy* to all that will take hold of it, ſhould be taken to be the erecting a croſſe to crucifie, or a gibbet to execute any: but our late intelligencers, *ne intelligendo faciant, ut nihil intelligant*, forfeit their wits as well as they have made ſhipwrack of their conſciences; elſe thou wouldſt never tell us of a gentle laſh at the croſſe; for neither were any according to the Roman laws laſhed at the croſſe, nor was that a gentle laſh with which our Redeemer was ſcourged, for it ſet him all in a gore blood, and made him ſuch a ruefull ſpectacle, that *Pilate* himſelf, whoſe conſcience was as red as his ſcarlet robe, yet cryed out in compaſſion, *ecce homo*, behold the man: and as abſurd is thy application of the ſponge, for the Doctors was a ſponge full of *fair water*, to waſh away ſome foul aſperſions caſt upon him by the Brownists; the other a ſponge full of vinegar to ſuck out & drink, that the Propheſie might be fulfilled literally, *when I was a thirſt they gave me vinegar to drink*: and if all who make uſe of a ſponge in the former kind, are to be termed executioners, your *noted noters* of ſermons, and elect Ladies, who cleanſe their table-books, eſpecially before your faſt ſermons; of which all men now begin to forfeit, muſt own that odious title. Pſal. 69. 21.

" Yea, but though he " wrote his own motto, the gentle laſh, yet he would fain ſee the " white flag dyed in blood. A lye dyed in grain, for which thy conſcience will check thee one day, if thou haſt any: for in the very narration of the Doctor, intituled the ſponge, which thou here quoteſt and alludeſt unto, one of the articles preferred by the ſeparatiſts, to the committee for plundered Miniſters againſt him, was, that he taxed the lecturers in *London* and the ſuburbs for being *boutefeus* and incendiaries, by inſtigating the people to theſe civill, or rather uncivill and unnaturall wars, crying out for the cauſe of God, and quarrell of the Goſpell, fight, fight; kill, kill; battel, battel; blood, blood; nay, ſo far is the Doctor from wiſhing that the *white flag ſhould be dyed in blood*, that he deſireth from his heart, that there were never a flag or ſtreamer to be ſeen in the field, nor drum or phife to be heard, nor ſword to be drawn, nor pike to be advanced in theſe kingdoms; but that it would pleaſe the Prince of peace, our only peace-maker, upon the lifting up of millions of hands in publike

like and private, upon the prayers and teares of *Scotland*, ſighs and groans of *England*, and laſt gaſping breath of *Ireland*, to turn all our drums into tabrets, and fifes into Recorders, and ſwords into ſythes, and pole-axes into mattocks, and ſtreamers into *winding ſheets*, to *wrap up* all the differences between Prince and people, church and common wealth, together with all the direfull effects thereof; and to *bury them* all in perpetuall oblivion: *dulce eſt nomen pacis, & res ipſa per quam ſalutaris*, ſweet is the name of peace, and the thing it ſelf moſt healthfull; *qua non ſolum homines, ſed & agri, & tecta lætari videntur.*

The King-fiſhers, as *Plutarch* writeth, never breed but in a calm ſea; and S. *James* teacheth us, that *the fruits of righteouſneſſe are ſown in peace of them that love peace.* On the contrarie, we reade in *Plinie's Nat. Hiſt. l. 9. c. 35.* that in the generation of *Margarus*, or pearle, if it thunder, the work of nature is quite marred, and that which would have been an orient gem, becomes a crude moiſture: and how many *pearles* have of late miſcarried, ſince the *thunder* of warre, both the Univerſities will tell you with *pearls* in their eyes. For it is not only true, *ſilent leges inter arma*, but *muſæ* alſo, that the laws are *ſuſpended* in the times of bloodie warres, but the *Prophets* too, and the *Muſes* alſo. As *Marius* was wont to ſay, where there is *claſhing* and *clattering* of Arms, neither laws of God nor man can be heard; and where the laws cannot be heard, all out-cryes are heard, and all out-rages are committed: no man hath *proprietie* of or in any thing, ſave *loſſes and wounds*; nor can *purchaſe* ought but *ſpoyls*, nor *build* any where but upon *ruines*. O the thundering in the ayre, and plundering on the land; the ſuſpending and interdicting, not ſo much of Preachers as Churches! O the *carkaſſes* as well of Cities as men, and *Coffins* rather of houſes then corpſes, and rooting up rather of families and countries then of gardens! Theſe and other diſmall effects extort from all thoſe, who have any thing yet to loſe, and have not forfeited the libertie of their ſpeech with the libertie of their perſons, this unanimous and harmonious Vote, *Come bleſſed peace.*

Nulla ſalus bello, pacem te poſcimus omnes.

Of all the meſſengers of Gods vengeance, the ſword is the ſwifteſt; of all ſwords the civill is the keeneſt, eſpecially when it is

whet with a pretext of Religion. This is ῥομφαῖα δίστομος, *gladius anceps*, a two-edged ſword, cutting on both ſides, *Engliſh* men, Proteſtants, brethren, branches of the ſame root, ſubjects to the ſame Prince, nay, members of the ſame myſticall body. In all other warres the victorie is joyfull on the one ſide; but in this, like as in the *Cadmean*, neither good for the conquerour nor for the conquered: for,

Κλαιεῖ ὁ νικήσας, ὁ δὲ νικηθεὶς ὀπολώλη.

He that conquers, weepeth for the loſſe of his countrey-men, friends, kinſmen, and allies; and he that is conquered, is loſt.

Which ſide ſoever gains, the King and the Countrey loſeth: O diſmall Enſignes! O banned Banners! O ſtained Colours! O bloodie Streamers! O inglorious Armes! O ignoble Victories! the monuments whereof are not pillars, or ſtatues ſet up, or trophies erected, but downfalls and ruines.

Bella geri placuit nullos habitura triumphos?
Heu quantum terræ poterat pelagique parari.
Hoc quem civiles hauſerunt ſanguine dextræ?

A Corollarie.

BEcauſe the good parts of men, like pictures, are beſt *ſeen at a diſtance, (picturæ eminus videndæ, non comminus)* and our great Prophet telleth us, that *a Prophet is not eſteemed in his own countrey*; I will here, by way of Corollarie ſet down the Eulogies of ſome eminent forraign Divines, concerning him who is *ſideratus* among his own, but *deſideratus* among them: the reaſon of which difference of judgements is evident to be this; they look upon him in his printed works, and in himſelf as he is: but theſe look on him through the *foul ſpectacle of a falſe relation*, and through the deception of their ſight deem the *duſt and filth to be in him the object*, whereas it is indeed in their *furred glaſſe*: let them *rub and cleanſe their ſpectacles*, and he will appear ſuch to them, as he doth to thoſe forraigners, whoſe teſtimonies here follow in their own language.

Baſil. ep. 62. οὐδὲ κατόπτρῳ ῥοπῶντι δυνατὸν εἰκόνων δείξαιτο τὰς ἐμφάσεις.

SECT.

Sect. XVII.

Teſtimonies of forraign Divines.

Ampliſſimo præſuli Johanni Kingo, Petrus Molinæus *S. P. D.*

Quantum recreatus ſum (præſul ampleſſ.) conſuetudine & amicitiâ D. Featlei, *tantum ejus abitum graviter moleſtèque tuli; eſt enim* vir perpaucorum hominum, *& quem cum penitus inſpexeris non poſſis non amare vehementer. Non vulgaris eſt in homine doctrina, ingenium comptum & in numerato, tum morum integritas, & pietas condita eſt mirâ ſuavitate. Quem quia Monachi & Sacrificuli noſtrates qui hic ſunt ſenſerunt* gravem adverſarium, *non dubito quin ejus diſceſſu lætentur ſummopere. Solent enim Anglos generoſos Luttiis agentes excipere inſidiis, & quaſi ſeptos indagine in fraudem inducere. Cum quibus* Featleius *non ſemel congreſſus* opima ſpolia retulit, *& infirmos confirmavit in fide, deditque experimentum, quantum intereſſit noſtratis eccleſia habere hic miniſtrum Anglum, qui ſe tam perniciosis ingeniis tam fortiter opponat. A talis viri complexibus avelli, quam mihi grave fuerit facile affirmabit, qui ſciat quanta hic ſit paucitas ejuſmodi virorum. Sed quia vocatur ad majora, & apud vos inventurus eſt majorem ſegetem quã metat, æquum eſt privatam ſuam voluptatem poſthabere amici commodis, & eccleſiæ utilitati: valui tamen, ut diſcederet abſque literis, quæ teſtentur quanti faciam (vir magne) pietatem tuam, & doctrinam ſingularem: quæ te gubernaculis tantæ eccleſiæ admovit; quam quia paſcis feliciter, ſummaque fide, & diligentiâ, ut Chriſti ſervum deceat; optamus ut Deus te ſervet incolumem, & tuos labores ſuo favore proſequatur. Vale. Lutetiæ prid. cal.* Junii, 1613.

A haut & puiſſant Seigneur, Meſſire PHILIPPE HERBERT, Conte de Pembroke & Montgomery, Baron HERBERT de Cardiffe, Baron de Parre & Roſſe, en Kendall, *Fitz-Hugh Marmion* & S. *Quintin*; Baron HERBERT de Shurland; Grande Chamberlaine du Roy de la Grande Bretagne, &c.

Guillaume Herbert in the Epiſtle dedicatorie, prefixed to his tranſlation of Doct. *Featley's Handmaid of devotion* into *French*.

IE n'oſe paſſer outre de peur de perdre mes paroles, car ſçachant que l'Autheur s'eſt rendu fameux en France, *par ſes* doctes diſputes *avec pluſieurs Docteurs de l'Egliſe Romaine; & en ce pais par ſes predications, & par* pluſieurs beaux livres *qu'il a mis ſous la preſſe, i'eſtime que mes loüanges n'adjouſteroint, non plus à ſa reputation qu'un verre d'eau à l'ocean. Je diray ſeulement qu'en ſon* Ancilla pietatis, *dedie à cette noble, illuſtre & vertueuſe princeſſe la Ducheſſe de Buckingham belle mere du Baron de Shurland voſtre fils aine, qui en eſpouſant Madame Marie de Villiers, heritiere des beautez de ſa mere, & des vertus de ſon pere, à allié deux maiſons qui ne cedent à aucune autre en nobleſſe, antiquité, grandeurs, richeſſes & vertu, il s'eſt rendu tout admirable, pourtant au dedans de ſes diſcours le* ſuc & la moëlle, *& au dehors* la douceur & la grace; *qu'il eſt tout* verdoyant en fueilles, *plaiſant en* fleurs, *& abundant en fruits:*

Utque viret ſemper laurus, nec fronde caducâ
Carpitur, æternum ſic habet ille decus.

Ad Lectorem.

COmme l'autheur de ces prieres eſt un homme docte & devot, *il a ſi bien conjoinct la devotion & la doctrine, qu'un* cœur glacé peut eſtre rechauffé, *& un* entendement offuſqué peut eſtre illuminé, *s'il jette les yeux ſur ce livre, & le lit avec attention; car toutes ces prieres ſont autant de Sermons, qui luy preſchent journellement la pratique de quelque vertu, & luy expoſent quant & quant les myſteres*

mysteres de Religion. Qu'est il besoin d'en dire tant? Li'les mon cher Lecteur, & tu diras, *que comme le* Soleil ne demande *point tant nos* loüanges que nos yeux, *(car qui le peut voir sans le loüer) ainsi ce livre ne peut estre leu plustost que loüe.*

Salutem à salutis authore.

Wolfgangus Meyer in his Epistle dedicatorie before his Dutch translation.

REverendiss. & clarissime domine Doctor Featleie; miraberis, sat scio, literarum mearum conspectu; ac sanè tenuitatis meæ modestiaque fuisset, iis potius supersedere, quam sanctas viri tanti occupationes interturbando in publica commoda peccare. Verum ea est nobilissimi Equitis, D. Flemingi, serenissimi regis vestri apud nos Helvetios Oratoris apud me authoritas, ut potius famæ, quàm inobedientiæ periculum subire maluerim. Ejus jussu suasuque non modò dignitatis tuæ amicitiam præsentibus ambire, sed Pietatis quoque Ancillam Germanica civitate donare *ausus fui. Si absque offensione tua id abs me factum intellexero, digito cœlum attingam. Mirantur nostri homines* devotionis aculeos, *quos precationes tuæ, in cordibus fidelium exèrunt, & post se relinquunt. Mentiar, si* iis quicquam legerim simile. *Perge (vir clarissime) hujusmodi scriptis seculum hoc beare; hac itur ad astra. Quid verò in Polemicis quoque valeas, Magnum Ecclesiæ Romanæ Sacrilegium, tuæque cum Pontificiis habitæ disputationes indicant. Si per humanitatem tuam alios quoque genii & ingenii tui fœtus exosculari licuerit, beatum me prædicabo. Fatentur nostri transmarini, se mihi ob translationem Perkinsii, Willeti, Downami, Squirii, aliorumque scriptorum Anglicanorum, plurimum debere: sed* longè plus propter translationem precum tuarum. *Versor ego jam in Apocalypseos explicatione. Antequam verò lucubrationes meas judicio doctorum ventilandas exponam, eas prius, cum uno vel altero Anglorum, qui postremi hoc profundum mare transiverunt conferre lubet. Bene mereberis, vir præstantissime, si me eorum participem reddideris, gratitudinem aliam non polliceor quàm quæ à mea tenuitate, & amore gentis Anglicanæ fluere potest: vale pancraticè* vir excellentissime, *& salve;*

The Grand Sacriledge, printed Lond. 1630.

Dabam die Paschatis,
Anno 1641.

Ab eo, qui te *fert in oculis,*
Wolfgango Meyero, S. Th. D. & ecclesiæ Cathedralis, quæ est Basileæ concionatore.

Viro

Viro reverendo ac clariſſimo Domino *Franciſco Taylero*
Eccleſiæ Claphamenſis Rectori vigilantiſſimo.

NE omittas clariſſimi Doctoris *Featleii opera, quæ à doctiſſimo viro* Domino *Spanhemio, Profeſſore Genevenſi, præ aliis laudantur.*

Datum Baſileæ, Martii 13. 1640. Joannes Schævarenus.

Idem in literis dat. Baſileæ 4. Septemb. 1641. Doctor Featleius quoad acumen, & ſingularem in meditationibus ſuis profunditatem, videtur certè vel celebratiſſimis omnium avorum hoc in genere ſcriptoribus palmam diſputare. Quod ſi qua alia ejus exteut præter Clavem Myſticam, & Ancillam Pietatis, me quæſo fac reſcire.

Viro venerando, Domino *Franciſco Taylero*,
verbi divini præconi fideliſſimo.

UT unicum addam, quæſo, proximis ſignifica an Doctor Featleius adhuc ſit in vivis, atque volumen ſuum meditationum publicarum nondum prælo ſubmiſerit: de cujus præſtantia nullus dubito, eſt enim mihi ad manum ipſius Ancilla Pietatis, quam dominus Oliverius propria manu dono dedit, & dominus Wolfgangus Meyerus in linguam noſtram vertit vernaculam: Sic ipſe coram teſtatus eſt.

Datum Brugis, Decemb. 10. 1641. Tuus ex aſſe, & beſſe,

Johannes Henricus Homalin,
indignus Chriſti ſervus.

To the right reverend father in God, IOHN KING, Lord Bishop of London, *Peter Moulin* wisheth, &c.

THe greater content and delight I received in the friendship and society of Dr. *Featley*, the greater cut it was to me to part with him; for he is such a man, as you shall meet with but few; and whom, when you know throughly, you cannot but love entirely. He is a man of choyce learning, of a nimble and ready wit, of an honest and religious disposition, seasoned with marvelous sweetnesse: at whose departure, your English Priests and Jesuits, because they found him a sore adversary, no doubt did greatly rejoyce: for their manner is to hancker about *Pois*, and to lye in wait for English Gentlemen that travail thither, that they may catch them in their nets, and engage them in the Romish quarrell: with these Doctor *Featley* often encountred, and striving with them, carryed away the prize, and confirmed those that were weak in the faith; and gave proof how much it concerned your Church to have here an able English Minister to make strong opposition against such pestilent wits. To be deprived of the company of such a man, & to be pluckt out of his bosome, how grievous a thing it was to me, any man may judge, who knows the scarcitie of such men here: but because he is called to an higher place, and shall reap a more plentifull harvest with you, it is fit for me for the publike good and profit of the Church, to forgoe my private interest.

Salvation in the Author of Salvation.

REverend and most worthy Doctor *Featley*, I know well you will wonder at the sight of my letters; and indeed it had stood better with my meaneneſſe & modesty to have spared them rather, then by interrupting the sacred imployments of so great a man, to offend

offend againſt the publike good: but ſuch is the authority of that noble Knight, Sir *Oliver Flemming*, his excellent Majeſties Ambaſſador Liegér with us *Helvetians*, that I had rather hazard my reputation, then incur the danger of diſobedience. At his command and intreaty I have taken the boldneſſe not only to renew our acquaintance in theſe my letters, but to tranſlate your *Hand-maid to Devotion* into the Dutch language: if I may underſtand that you take no offence at it, I ſhall think my ſelf very happy: our countreymen very much wonder at the ſparkles of devotion, which your prayers doe firſt kindle in the hearts of the faithfull; and then leave the flame behind them: let no man believe me if ever I read any thing like them: go on moſt worthy Sir, to make this age happy with ſuch kind of writing; this is the high way to Heaven: beſides what your abilities are in controverſies, the Grand Sacrilege of the Romiſh Church, and your diſputations with the Papiſts do ſufficiently demonſtrate; if out of your courteſie I may embrace other fruits of your learning and judgement, I ſhall acknowlege it as a ſpeciall favour: our countreymen beyond the ſeas confeſſe they are much indebted to me for tranſlating the works of *Perkins*, *Willet*, *Downham*, *Squire*, and other engliſh writers, but far more for the tranſlation of your Devotions. I am now imployed in expounding the *Apocalyps*: but before I doe expoſe my labours to be examined here of the learned, I mean to communicate them to one or other of the Engliſh, who laſt croſt the ſeas: worthy Sir, you ſhall doe me a great benefit, if you ſhall make me partaker of them; I promiſe no other thanks then what can proceed from my ſlender abilities, and the love of the Engliſh nation. Farewell moſt excellent Sir,

From him who hath his eyes ever upon you,

Wolfgangus Meyer, *S. Th. Doct. and Preacher at the Cathedrall Church which is in* Baſile.

To the Reverend and Worthy Mr. FRAN. TAYLER, the watchfull Paſtor of the Church of *Clapham.*

FOrget not to ſend the works of worthy Doctor *Featley*, which above other are commended by that moſt learned man *Spanheimus*, Profeſſor of *Geneva.*

Dated at Baſile, *March* 13. 1641. *John Scheverus.*

The ſame man in his letters dated at *Baſile*, 4. *Sept.* 1641. Doctor *Featley*, for his acuteneſſe and ſingular depth in his meditations, doth ſeem to put hard for the victory with the moſt famous writers of all ages in this kind: but if there be any other works of his extant, beſide his *Myſticall Key*, and his *Hand-maid to devotion*, pray certifie me thereof.

To the Worſhipfull M. FRANCIS TAYLER, a moſt faithfull Preacher of the Word of God.

THat I may adde but one thing: in the next letters certifie me whether D. *Featley* be yet alive, and whether he hath not yet printed his volume of publike meditations; of the excellency wherof I make no doubt: for I have here preſent at hand his *Hand-maid to devotion*, which Sir *Oliver Flemming* gave me with his own hand, and M. *Wolfgangus Meyer* hath tranſlated into our mother tongue, ſo he himſelf profeſſed before me.

Bruges, Dec. 10. 1641. *Yours to the utmoſt of my eſtate and power*

Iohan. Hen. Homalin, the unworthy ſervant of Chriſt.

Harlem

Harlem, Aprill 11 1644.

Chariſſimo ſuo Bullo. *S. P. D.*

VAlde me perculit qui hic rumor percrebuit de arcta domini Featlei cuſtodiâ. Siccine tractari inſignem veritatis pugilem de religione reformata optimè meritum? Idque ab iis, qui reform anda eccleſia palmam aliis præripere omnibus ſatagunt? Nentiquam tamen hoc mirum aut inſolens diſcipulo videri debet, cum ſciat ipſius magiſtrum a gente ſua & magnis in Iſraele Rabbinis duriora paſſum.

Tutus ex animo,

Iohan. Stableſius generoſ. Ger.

From Harlew, *to his very loving friend Maſter* Bull, *health and happineſſe.*

I Am ſorry to hear of the cloſe Impriſonment of that worthy Dr, *Featley*; what? He who is, and ever hath been ſo ſtout a Champion for religion, to be ſo uſed by the reformers thereof? But let his own Nation, & not the diſciple think it ſtrange, when his Maſter ſuffered ſo much crueltie from the great Rabbins of *Iſrael*.

Yours from my heart,

Aprill 11. 1644.

Joh. Stables Gent.

Theſe teſtimonies of forraign Divines I had thought to ſuppreſſe, becauſe the rehearſing them cannot but wound the modeſtie of the party, & may peradventure whet the venomous tooth of envie againſt him: yet theſe comming to my hands, and conſidering in what condition the partie now is, I held it a dutie of Chriſtian charitie and equitie, to impart them to the indifferent reader for the vindicating his perſon, and adding ſome light to his reputation now labouring in the eclipſe.

SECT.

Sect. XVIII.

The sum of D. F. *his apologie, reduced into two unanswerable Dilemma's.*

Before I put forth the horns of the *Dilemma's*, I will lay down certain *Lemma's*, or assertions of undeniable veritie.

First, after *D. F.* had delivered his mind concerning the *Scottish* Covenant, (which he thought he might doe safely in a free Assemblie) and many days before he wrote any Letter to the Primate of *Armagh*, it was spoken openly at *Westminster*, that the Doctor should be voted out of the Assemblie, as *L. M.* and *M. H.* disclosed to *D. F.*

Secondly, that *D. F.* sent not to *A. Warner* to conveigh a Letter of his to the Primate of *Armagh*; but *A. Warner* was sent to the Doctor, who, by probable and plausible suggestions, drew this Letter unsealed from the Doctor, which he no sooner received, but he shewed the close Committee.

Thirdly, that when the Doctor wrote this Letter to *Armagh*, the Bishop was an elect Member of the Assemblie by the house of Commons, and both he and Doctor *Prideaux* and Doctor *Ward*, and Doctor *Bronnerigg*, and Doctor *Oldisworth* and Doctor *Harris*, and others well affected to the Discipline and Liturgie of the Church of *England*, were daily expected at the Synod, and some of them excused their necessarie absence for a time from the Assemblie, by Letters to the Prolocutor, whereof one was presented by Doctor *Featley* himself, and Doctor *Gouge*.

Fourthly, that when the Doctor wrote his Letter to the Primate of *Armagh*, there was no declaration or ordinance of either of the houses of Parliament, forbidding correspondencie by Letters to *Oxford*, without leave of the houses, or warrant from the Lord Generall; for the Doctors Letter was written about the middle of *September*, 1643. and the ordinance prohibiting any under pain of Sequestration, to hold intelligence with *Oxford*, bears date *Octob.* 22. 1643. a full moneth after; so that the writing of the fore-named Letter, at that time, was not so much as *malum quia prohibitum*; neither

neither could the Doctor be censured for it as a crime, because, as the Apostle teacheth us, *where there is no law, there is no transgression.*

5. Fifthly, that there was never any thing objected against the Doctor since the sitting of the Parliament, or the Assemblie, save the seven Articles preferr'd against him by the *Brownists*, of which he was cleared, acquitted, and discharged in a full house after a long debate, *July* 12. and his Letter to the Primate of Ireland, which was written before the ordinance of Parliament made it criminall to write any letters to *Oxford* without speciall leave.

Now *Cruciat*, call to thee *Britanicus*, and *Scoticus*, and *Cælicus*; together with *Patriark W.* and Independent *N.* and set all your wits upon the tenters, to render some colourable answer to these two insoluble *dilemma's.*

First, either the vote of the house of Commons is an undoubted oracle of truth and justice, and a concludent and definitive sentence in poynt of law, or not. If it be so, then is *D. F.* cleare from all aspersions cast upon him. For in a full house, *July* 12. he was acquitted of all the articles objected against him, as appeareth in the record under the hand of *H. Elsing*, exemplified in the vindication of *D. F. p.* 21. If it be not so, but as some heretofore have conceived, only as the inquest of the Grand Jurie, and a preparatorie to the full *information of the cause* upon oath, and *finally sentencing it* in the house of Peers; then the vote passed against the Doctor in the house of Commons alone, without any farther proceeding in the house of Lords, is of no force or validitie in law, and consequently *D. F.* is still Rector both of *Lambeth* and *Alton*, and M. *W.* and M. *N.* are no better then intruders and usurpers of another mans right and possession. If the Allegations brought by the *Brownists* against the Doctor were true, how came he to be acquitted *July* 12? if they were false, how came he to condemned by the vote of the same house *Sept.* 29? And why were those articles from which he was cleared, commanded to be read in *Lambeth* Church, and made the ground of the sentence of sequestration against him, as if he had been guiltie of them?

Secondly, either the unsealed letter, written to the Primate of *Ireland*, contained in it some disclosing of secrets of state, or imputations upon the Parliament, or some other criminall matter liable to just censure, or not.

If the former, 1. Why was the originall Letter sent by order of the close Committee to *Oxford*? If it give any intelligence, they who sent it were the intelligencers, not the Doctor: his letter intercepted at *London* could tell no tales at *Oxford*.

2. Why was not the originall under the Doctors owne hand shewed him to convince him? Or at least an authenticall copie, attested by the hand of a notarie or some sworn witnesse, proving the accord thereof with the originall?

3. Why were not the pretended offensive particulars put to the Doctor, when he was convented before the Committee, and his particuall answer required thereunto?

4. Why was not the messenger or some other witnesse produced, to prove that the pretended offensive particulars were in the letter signed with the Doctors own hand?

5. Why all this while is the letter suppressed, and not published to this day to cleare the justice of the proceedings against the Doctor? If it were a legall evidence against him, as it is urged in the sentence; why could the Doctor by no means gain a copie of it, that he might interpret his own meaning, and that his answer as well as the objections against him might be upon record?

Lastly, why was no cause expressed in the Warrant for committing him to Prison?

If the latter, *i. e.* if the letter be so far from containing in it any matter subject to exception that it rather deserved approbation as expressing much loyaltie to his Majestie, zeal of the true orthodox religion, and a reverend regard and respect to the Assemblie of Divines, with a desire to continue still among them with his Majesties leave.

In the Vote Sept. 29. against the Dr. (all the other articles are waved) see the record supr.

1. Why then is this letter made the only ground of all the proceedings against the Doctor?

2. Why for writing this letter unsealed, not to a stranger, but to a member of the Assemblie, was he voted out of both his Benefices, all his estate both personall and reall sequestred, his books (in which lay his chiefest treasure) taken from him, his familie turned out of house and home, his servants and friends examined upon oath, concerning any plate, money, rents, or arrerages, bills or bonds belonging to him, and all that could be found seized upon?

3. Why is he suspended from the exercise of his Ecclesiasticall function?

4. Why

4. Why hath he been so long detained in prison, and there put to a great charge without any allowance at all out of his sequestred estate worth above 400 pound *per annum*?

5. Why is such a severe hand kept over him, that in the space of eight moneths and more, he can by no means obtain a most humble and comfortable petition to be rendered in his behalf to the house?

Thou, whosoever readest these things, and hast with *Philip of Macedon*, reserved one eare for the defendant, consider of all things impartially: *& si quem opinionem animo conceperis, si eam ratio convellit, si ratio labefactabit, si veritas extorquebit, ne repugnes; tamque animo aut libenti aut æquo remittas. Est enim hæc norma & forma judiciorum æquorum, ut culpa sine invidiâ plectatur, & invidia sine culpâ ponatur:* whatsoever prejudicate opinion thou mayst have taken of the Doctor, if reason convince it, if reason overthrow it, if truth it self pluck it from thee, give over thy hold: for this is the rule and pattern of all righteous judgements, that guilt be censured without envie or spleen, and envie and spleen without guilt be abandoned. *Cic. pro Cluent.*

Post-script to the Reader.

COurteous Reader, I know thou expectest that here the Doctors whole letter should be added. But for the avoyding of tautologies, because all the substantiall contents so far as in the Diurnalls and Mecurie they have been heretofore objected to the Doctor, they are in in the Gentle Lash, *and in this Treatise related in severall sections, and fully answered; I shall intreat thee to be contented with the remainder thereof, faithfully transcribed out of the originall sent to the Primate of* Ireland.

Doctor *Featley* having written a letter to the Lord Arch-bishop of *Armagh*, to give his Grace an account of his demeanour in the businesse of the *Scottish Covenant*, was committed Prisoner to the Lord *Peters* house, both his Livings given away to others, and his Books bestowed upon that old instrument of sedition *White* of *Dorchester*. But it was the Doctors reasons against their *Covenant*, which raised all this stirre, which (the originall Letter being now in my *Mercurius Aulicus* 41. week, 1643.

hands) I shall here impart, and the pretended Houses who got a copie of it, can testifie it to be true. First the *Doctor* excepted against those words [*Wee will endeavour the true Reformed Protestant Religion in the Church of* Scotland, *in Doctrine, Discipline, Worship, and Government, according to the Word of God.*] *These words* (said the Doctor) *imply that the Worship, Discipline, and Government of the Church of* Scotland, *is according to the Word of God, which* (said he) *is more then I dare subscribe, much lesse confirme by an Oath. For first, I am not perswaded that any platforme of Government in each particular circumstance is* jure divino. 2. *Admit some were, yet I doubt whether the* Scots *Presbytery be that.* 3. *Although sometimes they seeme to be urged out of Scripture for the Scots Government, and some shew of probabilitie, yet far from such evidence as may convince a mans conscience, to sweare it is agreeable to Gods Word.* Next the Doctor excepted against that passage [*I shal endeavour the extirpation of Prelacy in the Church of* England, *&c.*] *I* (saith he) *dare swear that: First, in regard that I beleeve Episcopacie is an Apostolicall institution.* 2. *That the Church never so flourished, as within 500 years after Christ, when it was governed by Bishops.* 3. *That our English Episcopacy is justified by the prime Divines of the Reformed Churches of the Seas.* 4. *that our Englisb Bishops now & ever since the Reformation have disclaimed all Papall dependency.* 5. *That the foure Generall Councels (confirmed in* England *by Act of Parliament,* 1 Eliz.) *for Episcopacy. And* 6. (which all men had need consider) *the Ministers of the Church of* England, *ordained according to a forme (enjoyned by Act of Parliament) at their Ordination take an Oath that they will reverently obey their Ordinary, and other chiefe Ministers of the Church and them to whom the Government and charge is committed over them. This Oath I and all Clergy-men have taken; and if we shall sweare the extirpation of Prelacy, we shall sweare to forswear our selves.* Lastly, he excepted against that passage [*I will defend his Rights and Priviledges of Parliament, and defend His Majesties Person and Authority, in defence of the true Religion and Liberties of the Kingdome.*] *Here* (said he) *the Members are put before the Head; the Parliaments Priviledges before the Kings Prerogative, and the restraint of defending the King, only in such & such cases seems to imply something, which I fear may be drawne to ill consequence.*

FINIS.

THINGS Now-a-doing:

OR,

THE CHVRCHES TRAVAILE Of the Child of Reformation now-a-bearing.

IN

A SERMON Preached before the Honourable House of Commons, at their solemne Fast, *July* 31. 1644.

By *Stanley Gower*, sometimes Rector of *Brompton-Brian* in the County of *Hereford*, now Preacher of Gods Word at *Martins Ludgate, London*: And one of the Reverend Assembly of Divines.

MATTH. 24. 21,23,24,25.

V.21. *Then shall be great tribulation, such as was not since the beginning of the world to this time, no nor ever shall be.*

V.23. *Then if any shall say to you, Lo, here is Christ, or there: believe it not.*

V.24. *For there shall arise false Christs, and false Prophets, &c.*

V.25. *Behold I have told you before.*

Published by Order of the said House.

LONDON,

Printed by *G. M.* for *Philemon Stephens* at the signe of the Golden-Lyon in *Pauls* Church-yard, 1644.

TO THE HONOVRABLE HOVSE OF COMMONS Now assembled in PARLIAMENT.

Right Honourable;

DAniels *Prophecie concernes the* Jewes *in* Hypotheſi, *the whole Church of God in* Theſi, *for* no Scripture is of private interpretation, *ſaith S.* Peter, *and* Theſe things hapned to them as enſamples, *ſaith S.* Paul. Dan. 12. 1. Thy people. 2 Pet. 1. 20. 1 Cor. 10. 11. τύποι.

To them it ſpeaketh two things;

1. *Their* Calamities *under the foure great* Monarchies *now almoſt at an end.*

2. *Their* Conſolation afterwards, *and now approaching.*

To us it ſpeaketh two things more;

1. *Our* Hope, *living in dayes of trouble, but withall, of delivery; it is not a* Tympany, *but a* Child, *that the Churches of the Saints goe withall, if they ſtick* long in the place of birth, *it* Dan. 12. 1. Hoſe. 13. 13

is because they are foolish; *but at length a safe deliverance is promised, the man-child of Reformation shall be borne, and Heaven and earth shall*
Zech. 4. 7. *cry* grace grace unto it.

2. *Our* Help, (*for* hope deferred maketh the
Prov. 13. 12. heart sick,) *in this booke two ways it is afforded.*

First, From the History *of it, See here how the Church, though it be a little and but a despised flock, yet is it of that esteeme with God, that for the Churches sake he wheeles about all the Monarchies*
Dan. 2. & 7. *of the world; the* Persian *shall dash in peeces the* Babylonian, *the* Greekes *the* Persian, *the* Romanes *the* Grecian, *and* the God of Heaven *the* Romane Empire *and them all, and set up the Kingdome of Iesus Christ, that* stone cut out without hands, which shall become a great mountaine and fill the whole earth.

Secondly, From the Prophesie of it, not Humane, but Divine, that sacred Calendar, and great Almanack of Prophesie: the foure Kingdomes of Daniel, *are not only, an Historicall, but a Prophe-ticall Chronologie of times, measured from the beginning of the* Jewes *captivity till* all the Kingdomes
Rev. 11. 15. of the world should become the Kingdome of our Lord and his Christ; *a course of time, during which, the Church and Nation of the* Iewes

should

should carry the veile upon their hearts, but afterwards should turne to God, and be raised up from the death of sinne; a returne so strange, a delivery so great, that it is resembled to a resurrection *from the grave.* Dan. 12. 2. Rom. 11. 15.

To this great Calendar of times the Apostles in the new Testament relate, when they call the times of the fourth Kingdome, the last times, *and the latter times of that Kingdome,* the latter times; (viz.) *the latter part of that last Kingdome (as saith a learned Interpreter:) Goe we then to this propheticall Calendar, we have* the Romane Monarchy *almost at an end, and concerning the* Iewes, *(whose comming in succeedeth their going out) two things foretold.* Mr *Mede* Apost. of latter times, p. 64, 65, 66.

The finall end of the Turkish Empire *(as learned men conceive) the only obstacle to those* Kings of the East *as the* Iewes *are call'd, and the last defence of the Beast; whose beginning, was about the yeare* 1300. *and the addition of* 350. *(which is the* time, times, halfe a time) *doth bring that Turkish tyranny to an end, in the yeare* 1650. 1. M. *Brightman*, and many others. Rev. 16. 12. Dan. 12. 7. M. *Brightman, in locum.*

The beginning of their gratious delivery, this shall be after a two-fold epoche. 2.

1. The taking away of the daily sacrifice, *which was wickedly done by* Antiochus, *long before, but* Dan. 12, 11.

Dan.8.10.11, 24.25. but de jure *by our Lord Iesus Christ his death, destroying all other sacrifices by the sacrifice of himselfe, the fulnesse of all their shadowes, and* de facto *by* Titus Vespasian, *who tooke away the place of sacrificing, when he destroyed the Temple.*

Ioseph Antiq.

2. The seuing up of the abhomination of desolation, (*or which maketh desolate*) *this was wickedly attempted by the* Iewes *in the dayes of* Iulian the Apostate, *he in contempt of Christ gaue licence to the* Iewes *to build their Temple, and renew their Iewish worship, hereupon they tooke up every stone of the old foundation, but before they laid any new one, they were dispersed by a speciall hand of God. A fearfull earthquake in the night destroyed all their work, a sudden fire consumed all their tooles, and themselves so dispersed that from that time the* Iewish *superstitions did for ever cease.* Cyril Bishop of Ierusalem, *who admonished them of this Propheſie of* Daniel, *but after no dissuasion could prevaile, he openly professed, that now the time was come which our Lord fore-told, that* there should not be left one stone upon another.

Theod. Hist.

Mat.24.2.

Now understand we this to be the epoche, Iulians *reign fell out in the yeare* 360. *to which adde* 1290. *they make up* 1650. *the very time formerly designed for the finishing of the* Iewes *dispersion.*

These

These things being so, I knew not (Right Honourable) *a Text speaking more to* { You, Vs, Our times, *then what I preached on, and by your Authority have exposed now to more publike view.*

To you *it speakes by way of* Caution, *that no spot, nor blot, nor shrinking back be found amongst you, that are* repairers of our breaches, and restorers of pathes to dwell in. 1.

To us *it speakes by way of* Crisis, *it discovers the temper of the sick body of both Church and State under you our great and (under God) only Phisitian, your physick stirs the humours; makes some better, some worse.* 2.

To our times *it speakes by way of* comfort, *they are troublesome, but trying times, and after triall, there shall be delivery to those that are* purified, made white, and tried, *but destruction to those that* doe and will doe wickedly, *true wisedome and understanding is hid from them, and reveal'd to the godly wise. Let then a bloody crew fight on, and fill up their measure, and let a foolish people refuse to assist you as they ought, the Lord himself hath said the word,* to you *as to* Cyrus. He is my shepheard, and shall performe all my pleasure, even saying to *Ierusalem*, Thou shalt be built, and of the Temple, 3. Isa. 44. 28.

ple, Thy foundation ſhall be laid: *and* to them,
Rev. 16. *the Lord will throw downe his* haile *upon them that ſtand againſt Reformation, and rend their hearts with indignation and blaſphemy; he will goe an end with his worke, though they ſweare and ſtorme, till he have utterly conſumed them from the face of the*
Deut. 32. 4. *earth.* Perfect is the work of God, *and (as the Lord*
1 Sam. 3. 12. *ſpake concerning* Eli) when he begins, he will alſo make an end.

Thus craving your pardon, and (which is more) your acceptance, as you have my faith, ſo ſhall you have my prayers, that what Cæſar *once ſaid of* Rome, He found it brick, but left it marble,
Romam lateritiam inveni, marmoream relinquo. *may much more Honourably be ſaid of you, you found our Church and State* Atheiſticall, Prelaticall, *you leave* the beames of our houſe Cedar,
Cant. 1. 17. Plin. l. 43. c. 5 & 16. c. 41. and our galleries firre; *famous for durableneſſe, acceptable for ſweetneſſe; by laying in the walls of the Church ſuch ſolid and eternall truths of God as may hold out inſtead of* Socinianiſme, Arminianiſme, *and many moe; and by ſetting up ſuch* Worſhip, *and* Diſcipline, *and* Governement, *as may keepe off wind and weather, that Gods people may walke hand in hand together, as in galleries of firre.*

Your Honours, both at the throne of grace, and in the worke of Chriſt

STANLEY GOWER

Things Now-a-doing.

DAN. 12. 10.

Many ſhall be purified and made white, and tried; but the wicked ſhall doe wickedly; and none of the wicked ſhall underſtand, but the wiſe ſhall underſtand.

YOu heard in the morning (Right Honourable and the reſt dearely beloved in the Lord Jeſus) God by *Ieremy* counſelling to *amend your wayes and your doings*; Heare now God promiſing by *Daniel* that many ſhall be amended, and this promiſe illuſtrated by the contrary, *but the wicked ſhall doe wickedly*: be as attentive I beſeech you to God promiſing, as unto God perſwading.

Coherence ſhowing.

Mr *Rathband*, on *Ier.* 7. 3.

Theſe words ſtand in the nature of a Parentheſis, the verſes before and after, cohere well enough without them; the former, as *Daniels* queſtion, v. 8. *what ſhall be the end of theſe things?* the latter, as the *Angels* anſwer thereunto. v. 11. *From the time that the daily ſacrifice ſhall be taken away, and the abomination that maketh deſolate ſet up, there ſhall be a*

thousand two hundred, and ninety dayes. My text comes in betweene, as a propheticall prognostick of that time: *Daniel* would so faine know, *ver.*8. and the *Angel* somewhat obscurely calculates, *ver.*11. Some copies insert the word [*Interim,*] and reade, *Complures interim*; *meane time many, &c.* which show the verse to be dependent: and indeed we must consider a little, the *time*, and *scope*, ere we can bring home the propheeie, and I shall give you both very briefely.

1. The Time.

1 Chron 3.1.

The Time fore-told, is, the call of the *Iewes*, [*thy people*] sayes *ver.*1. for *Daniel* was a *Iew*, not second son to *David* by *Abigail*, of whom you reade long before, but a Prophet of the Princely tribe of *Iudah*, and (if we may credit * *Iosephus*.) of the blood Royall also. He is elsewhere spoken of as a very excellent man, but we must here looke upon him as withall, pen-man of the *Holy Ghost*, and that of a very choice peece, the *Iewish* story. *Solomon* beloved of God, (called therefore *Iedidiah*) *son of* David *King of Israel*, writes the Churches Epithalamia, and Love-songs: S. *Iohn*, the blessed Evangelist, beloved Disciple, and amongst the 12. Apostles, paralell to *Ioseph* amongst the 12. Patriarchs; as Evangelist writes his Gospell, as Apostle, his Epistles, and as Prophet, his *Revelation* to the Churches. And this our *Daniel*, eminent with men, whose wisedome grew into a proverbe: *---Thou art wiser then Daniel:*) powerfull for men, and greatly beloved of God, writes the history of the *Iewish* Church (then the only people of God, and as yet *beloved for their fathers sake*) in the six first Chapters, and their propheeie in the six later Chapters, as some have made the distribution of this Booke: or (as others,) their troubles under the foure great Monarchies, to this *twelfth* Chapter, and their deliverance under

Cap. 1.6. * ἦσαν δ' ἐκ τούτων τῶν ἐν τῇ αἰχμαλωσίᾳ ᾠκισμένων, τεσσαρες καὶ λίπτι, ἐξαγαθὶ τὰς φύσεις, οἷς ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς ἐπαινεῖ, &c. *Ioseph Antiq.* l.10.c.13. 2 Sam. 12.24, 25.

Ezek. 8.3. Ezek. 14.14, 16, 18, 20. Dan. 10.11.

Rom. 11.28.

M. *Brightman* on *Dan.* *Willet.* on *Dan* and others.

under the fifth perpetuall Monarchy which the stone cut out without hands shall set up (as Christ is called in this booke) in this *twelfth Chapter*. King *Solomon* admires, the rise of the Gentile Church in his song, and admires after that, the rise of another Church, which he calls a *Shulamite*, alluding to *Shalom*, the ancient name of *Ierusalem*, the mother City of the *Iewes*, looking forth as the morning, because that Church shall rise out of the Easterne Countries; that her nut should be crackt, the shell which was over her kernell, the veile which was over her heart should be taken away, and that she should be as a flourishing Vine and budding Pomgranate, bringing forth wholesome fruit to refresh God and man, is matter of admiration, and no lesse indeed than a resurrection from the dead, to which it is resembled in this Chapter, and elsewhere. S. *Paul* would not have us ignorant of this mistery: That we might not be so, we have a two-fold assurance of it in this booke, One, by dreame of *Nebuchadnezzar*, as we see at large in the *second Chapter*: The other by vision of *Daniel* himselfe, in the *seventh Chapter*: of both which I may say as *Ioseph* of *Pharaohs* two dreames, *It is doubled twice, because the thing is established by God, and God will shortly bring it to passe*. How soone, let him that hath understanding count from the verse following, where there are two epoches, 1. *From the taking away of the daily sacrifices*; that was when *Ierusalem* was destroyed, the place of sacrificing; 2. *From the setting up of the abomination of desolation*, which is supposed by good Authours, to be in the dayes of *Iulian the Apostate*, 360. yeares after Christ, or thereabouts,

Cant. 3. 6.

Cant. 6. 10, &c.

Rev. 16. 12.

Rom. 11. 25. Rom. 11. 25.

Gen. 41. 32.

Socrat Scholast Eccles hist. l. 7. c. 17.

Cyrill of *Ierusalem* observing how they had taken up every stone of the old foundation, and were dispersed ere they layed a new one as they had thought, said, the words of our Saviour, (*There shall not be left a stone upon a stone*,) was then fulfilled: and if so, then the time comes out in the yeare 1650. as appeares to any that shall adde 1290. to 360. Then shall the *Turkish* power be broken also, as appeares from another account, *ver.* 7. and then shall Hallelujahs ring for the marriage of the bride, the Lambs wife; and before these things come to passe, *Rome* shall be destroyed, whose last scene is now acting, and her ruine at hand, and the things that shall come upon her make hast. This is the Time, and it is a desireable Time.

2. The Scope.

The scope now of *Daniel* in this Chapter, is to comfort the hearts of Gods people, against the troubles, and trials of that time, by giving them two prognosticks of this great deliverance. (*viz.*)

The { Troubles, *ver.* 1. / Trials, *ver.* 10. } of that Time.

The *Troubles* of that time shall be *such, as never was since there was a Nation even to that same time*, &c.

The *Trials* of that time shall be such, as makes godly men better, wicked men worse. For so saith my text; *Many shall be purified, made white, tried, but the wicked shall doe wickedly*, &c.

Prov. 25. 11.

3. The Accomodation.

And now (Right Honourable) if *a word fitly spoken*, be *as apples of gold, with pictures of silver*, then these words begg your acceptance, as being, not only profitable (for so they are at all times, being the words

words of the Holy Ghost) but also seasonable, for so they are at this time, they are our very *Crisis*.

The { 1. *Times alike, purifying, whitening, trying times.*
2. *Persons alike, some wicked, some wise.*
3. *Properties alike, they act accordingly, none of the wicked understand but the wise doe understand.*

So that I may say of my text, as our Saviour Christ did of his, taken out of another Prophet, *This day is this Scripture fulfilled in your eares.* We reade, that *the same day that the Lord thundred and rained, the people greatly feared the Lord.* Luk. 4. 21. 1 Sam. 12. 18.

This day God thunders many wayes, and in my text he also lightens, God grant the effect may be answerable; So much for the { Time. Scope.

I come now to the text: *Many shall be purified*, &c. It is propheticall; and in such, we consider Text showing.

The { Credit of the Prophet. Propheſie it selfe. The parts viz.

The Credit of the *Prophet*, is not only this, that he was an excellent man (as we have shewed) but that he was also *the Holy Ghosts pen-man*. Wicked *Porphyry*, enemy to Christian Religion, makes him little better than an impostor, and affirmes this booke was an History, writ by some prophetick-wise, that lived in or after the dayes of *Antiochus Epiphanes*; but the *Septuagint* have translated this booke into Greeke, 100. yeares before that *Antiochus*; and *Josephus* tells, how *Iaddus* an high-Priest, shewed *Alexander* the Great, that Propheſie in this booke, which fore-told of a King of *Grecia* that should destroy the *Persian* Monarchy, in confidence whereof *Alexander* proceeded to I. The Prophet Ioseph Antiq. lib. 11. cap. 8.

that warre, and this was at least 60. yeares before *Antiochus*, as Chronologers computes. Some *Rabbins* dreame, that the booke was writ by the wisemen of the great Synagogue, who were in the time of *Ezra*: but how came it then that *Daniel* is so oft named in the booke, and that the Title of the booke in Hebrew, is, *The booke of Daniel*? But both the one, and the other are confuted by our Saviour Christ, which determines it both to *Daniel*, and that he was a Prophet, and bids us (by the way) when we reade, consider, the words of *Daniel the Prophet*, in the verse next following my text. And therefore this booke is not to be placed amongst those Scriptures which they call *Holy writings*, but amongst those they call *Prophets*.

Vide Theodor. *præfat in* Dan. *Item* Polan. *in prolegom.*

סֵפֶר דָּנִיֵּאל

Matth. 24. 15.

2. The Prophesie.

The Prophesie it selfe of these words, is (you see) of great siding, and each side acting accordingly, something before the time of the *Iewes* conversion;

In which consider two different { Subjects, { *Wicked.* / *Wise.* / Predicates.

Different in { Effects, *Many shall be purified, made white, tried, but the wicked shall doe wickedly.* / Degree, *None of the wicked shall understand, but the wise shall understand.*

Now if the least filing of gold is pretious, then of Truth; yet shall I but name some severals, and insist only (according to my time and your patience) upon one Proposition. I might observe then,

3. The Points. Raised but not prosecuted.

1. *Godly men are wise, and wicked men are fooles.*

This appeares from the opposition of subjects. { *Wicked.* / *Wise.*

it

It should be either {Wicked. / Godly.} or {Foolish. / Wise.}

By rendring therefore as opposite to wicked, wise, it shewes that wicked are not wise; and by tearming those that are not wicked, wise, it imports, that the wise are not the wicked, but the godly. Indeed the word used for wise, is applied to godly Teachers, *Dan.*12. but when it is opposed (as here) to wicked, it signifieth, not teachers only, but others too. Receive it therefore for a divine *maxime* (I pray you) That piety is the best pollicie, and godly men are in the Holy Ghosts judgement the wisest men. והנשכילים

2. *There are many godly wise.*

If *many shall be purified, made white, and tryed,* then (God be thanked, and the Lord encrease the number of them) there are many such: and not only many, but many great men too; the word in the Originall signifies both *many,* and *great*; many in number, and great in condition; as when it is said; *Many are the troubles of the righteous:* that is to say, many in number, great in nature: It is indeed rare to have great men good, a little goodnesse stands for a great summe amongst great men: but yet it is no singular thing, there are many such: be not ashamed therefore, you that are great, to be, and to be thought to be, godly. ורבים

3. *Best may mend, and shall be mended.*

They *shall be purified, made white, and tried,* that their drosse may be purged: The Lord hath his flaile to thresh out their chaffe, his water and sope to make them white, and his fire to melt and try them; and therefore they are proud, not perfect, that think they have found an *Hercules* pillar to write a *ne plus ultra* upon. Phil.3.12.

4. *Wicked*

4. *Wicked men doe, and ſhall doe wickedly.*

5. *The reaſon why they doe ſo, is,* becauſe none of *the wicked ſhall underſtand.*

6. *The godly wiſe ſhall underſtand when none of the wicked ſhall.*

Now none of theſe ſeverals I can inſiſt upon, what of them my time and your patience will permit me to ſpeake of, I ſhall graſpe in this one Propoſition, that containes the ſumme of the verſe.

Doctrine. *That the ſame times, and troubles in them, which make godly wiſe men better, make wicked men worſe.*

The maine Doctrine handled. Shewing,

And I will not ſpeake ſo much of Times, which comes in more properly in the verſe following; as of troubles in thoſe times, theſe are hinted in the words, *purified, made white, and tried,*

My method for the doctrinall part, ſhall be to ſhew,

1. *What tribulations they are by which God doth purifie, make white, and try his people.*
2. *How they are by theſe purified, made white, and tried.*
3. *What is the reaſon that they have ſuch different effects upon the godly, and the wicked.*

1. What tribulations,

For the firſt: They are not all of one ſort, nor ſize. Here there are three ſorts, *lighter ſprincklings,* in alluſion to *Iewiſh purifyings*; *heavier rubbings,* in alluſion to *Iewiſh cleanſings*; and *ſharpeſt trials,* in alluſion to *Iewiſh trials.* The Apoſtle elſe-where reduceth them to two: *Inward fightings, outward feares:* but it matters not ſo much what they are, as whereto they ſerve, for they are but a meanes to an end, their bettering; and therefore as we ſay of meanes, ſo much as will ſerve; ſo doth the Lord proportion the tribulation

2 Cor. 7. 5.

Tantum ſumendum quantum ad finem prodeſt.

lation to the good of his people, so much and no more, as will serve to *purifie, make white, and try them.*

For the second; I will shew you, how the Lord by these, doth { 1. *Purifie*. 2. *Make White*. 3. *Try them.* } 2. How they purifie, make white and try.

The *Iews* had their purification, so have Christians. There is Christs { Blood, *Heb.9.14.* Word, *Ioh.15.3.* Spirit, *Mat.3.* }

But I am not speaking of these, which doe directly, and properly tend thereto; but of afflictions, which by accident serve to that end: as you may see, *Isa.4.4.* By these now Gods people are *purified* 2. waies.

First, From sin committed, both originall sin, and actuall. For originall, *Salomon* tells us, *Folly is bound up in the heart, and the rod of correction drives it away:* And for actuall, *Isaiah* sheweth, that by correction, *the iniquity of* Jacob *shall be purged, and this is all the fruite, to take away his sinne.* 1. They purifie from sin committed. Pro.22.15. Isa 27.9.

Secondly, From sinne to be committed. I meane to prevent your sinning for time to come: Tribulations are not only *medicines*, but also *antidotes*: God in this doth as wise Statesmen, when they see a man busying himselfe much with matters of state at home, prying into things concerne him not, they send such into the warres abroad: so doth God, send tribulations to exercise his people, and keepe them pure, least they fall foule: thus did he with *S. Paul*, he had his *thorne, least he should be exalted*, &c. and thus they are purified both in heart and life, to cure sin past, and prevent sin to come. 2. From sin to be comitted. 2 Cor.12.7.

2. They make white.

Againe, by these they are *made white*; so Dan. 11. 35. *And some of them of understanding shall fall to try them, and to purge, and to make them white, even to the time of the end.*

It is not enough to be pure, which renders a man holy to God, but to be bright and white before men: Inward purity makes no great shew before men unlesse whitenesse and unspottednesse doe accompany it; now there are two wayes that God will have his people *white*, as well as *pure* at this time.

1. From their owne & other mens sins.

Josh 22 17. 2 King. 23. 26.

First, From their own & other mens sins. You (Right Honourable) have confessed justly, that the guilt of Idolatry and blood lay upon our fore-fathers; I may say of these, as of the *iniquity of* Peor, *we are not cleansed from it to this day. Manasses* sins lay heavy upon the Land in good *Iosiahs* dayes; God will have our Land made white from these.

2. From their own suspected sins.

K. Declar. 1. Aug. 12. 1642.

Secondly, From their own-suspected sinnes. Two sinnes the enemies of our peace suspect in you and falsely charge upon you, (give me leave to speake plainly) *Disloyalty* to our *Soveraigne*, from which your Declarations, and proceedings may acquit you; and *Sacriledge* against our God, from which the world expects how you will acquit your selves; certainely when God hath purified you, he will make you white, as he did *David* against *Saul*, even by his own confession; and *Ioseph* against his Mistris: nay as he hath done you already in many things, and what remaines you have in promise, for the cause is before the Lord, who will *give a perfect lot*: Hee hath said, *Commit thy way unto the Lord, trust also in him, and he shall bring it to passe. And he shall bring*

1 Sam. 14. 19. Gen. 41. 38.

Psal. 37. 6.

forth

forth thy righteouſneſſe as the light, and thy judgement as the noone day. Thus the Lord will by tribulation, both purifie them in heart and life, and whiten them from the ſpot of other mens ſinnes, and their own ſuſpected ſins.

Thirdly, By theſe, both times and troubles, *they are tried:* The *Iewes* had not only their ſprincklings and waſhings, but alſo their water of jealouſie, and other meanes by which they were tried; ſo hath God his troubles, not only to rid his people of ſinne, and to render them ſpotleſſe before men, but alſo to try them; Gods trials are of two ſorts, ſome for humiliation, then he leaves them to know all that is in their heart, as he did *Hezekiah:* others for confirmation, then he aſſiſts them, as he did *Abraham.* By theſe tribulations God trieth his peoples { Sincerity. / Graces.

3. They try their

2 Chro. 32. 31. Gen. 22. 1.

First, He trieth their ſincerity, if they will ſtick to a good cauſe without defection, and goe on in a good courſe without deflection. Certainely, theſe times and troubles make the ſame diſcovery of men as former did; then there were ſome *confeſſors,* ſome *Martyrs,* others *Traditors,* that in time of tribulation went away. *Errors muſt be, that they that are approved may be knowne:* and doctrines and practiſes of liberty muſt be, that well rooted and grounded Chriſtians may be diſtinguiſhed from *children, toſſed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine by the ſleight of men, and cunning craftineſſe, whereby they lie in waite to deceive.* Tribulations are like great winds, which faſten trees well rooted, but throw downe the reſt; There have been and daily are many both in

1. Sincerity.

Euſeb Eccleſ. Hiſt. 1 Cor. 11. 19.

Ephes. 4. 14.

Church and State thus tryed, ſome *Darius*-like, *labour earneſtly to the going downe of the Sun*, and then they goe back. It was great trialla while agoe, what men would ſet themſelves againſt the Prelates and their proceedings, how men would fortifie their ſpirits againſt their ſummons, Courts, Cenſures, impriſonments and ſore oppreſſions: God hath delivered us thence, and after theſe, brings more publike and univerſall trials, how men will ſtand in and for the publike, who be the *Calebs* and *Joſhuahs* that will goe on to the accompliſhment of reformation, againſt the *Anakims*, and who will luſt after the *fleſh pots of Egypt*, who will waite upon God, and goe when he bids, and ſtay when he ſtayes, and who will goe their own way, as they then did, we are juſt thereabouts now: and if any fall off, we are told before hand, it is the iſſue of their inſincerity. *They went out from us, but they were not of us: for if they had been of us, they would no doubt have continued with us: but they went out that they might be made manifeſt that they were not all of us.*

Dan. 6. 14.

Numb 14.

1 Joh. 2. 19.

2. Graces.

Secondly, He trieth their graces: He that hath any grace may now know what he hath, I will inſtance in three,

1. Love.

Firſt, He trieth their *Love*, how faſt they are glewed to God and his cauſe, that no affliction can part them, whether they are as willing to be turned into a priſon for his ſake, as into their own habitation, Love is of this nature: *Many waters cannot quench Love, neither can the floods drowne it.*

Cant. 8. 7.

2. Faith.

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the Faith! Had men *Stephens* eyes to see *Jesus in the Heavens*, when stones were flying about their eares; or a *Moses* eyes, to *see the recompence of reward*; did they by *faith* see Gods attributes put forth for their helpe, they would not stagger what side to take to, nor what to doe, but would readily answer as those Heroes: *O King we are not carefull to answer thee in this matter: If it be so, our God whom we serve, is able to deliver us from the burning fiery furnace, and he will deliver us out of thy hand O King, but if not, be it knowne to thee O King, that we will not serve thy gods, nor worship thy graven images which thou hast set up:* All the graces which grow among thornes and thistles, attending upon faith, meeknesse, patience, &c. will now be tried and discovered. Acts 7. 55. Dan. 3. 16, 17, 18.

Thirdly, He trieth their *Love to one another*, what sympathy they have to those that suffer with them, or for them: You have Ministers, the Country wants them; hither come the godly and faithfull of the land, that have suffered the losse of all: God tries now, what hast you will make (Right Honourable) to settle the businesse of Ordination, and releeve those Churches that for the present are as sheep without a sheapheard: and how you will imploy those that are faithfull in the land about you, as *David* did. Thus you have seene how they are by these purified, made white, and tried. 3. Sympathie. Psal. 101. 6.

Now remaines the third and last thing proposed, (*viz.*) what is the reason, and whence it is, that these times and troubles have such different effects and operations upon the godly wise, and upon the wicked, and those three that are in my text shall serve, I will adde no more. 3. What is the Reason of so different operation.

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Reason 1. From diversity of subjects.

First, This comes to passe from the diversity of subjects on whom they light, (*viz.*) godly, and wicked. Afflictions as Physick make better or worse; they are resembled to a *fanne*, the godly are the Lords wheate, purified by it, but the wicked are as the chaffe, blowne away, nor is there any thing to be seen amongst them, but Apostasies, abusing Gods truth, and what not?

Jer 15.7. and 51.2.

Mat. 13.6. Jesus Christ compares tribulation to the *Sun*; the same Sun which warmes and perfecteth good seed, scorcheth that which hath not depth of earth, depth of root, and enough of moisture, as that which was sowne upon high way, stony, and thorny ground had not. It is in the Prophet compared to *water and fire*; now as things are which are cast into water and fire, so is the operation: cast gold into the water, it keeps its yellow shine, cast it into the fire, it becomes brighter; cast earth into water, it turns it into mudd, cast it into the fire, it crumbleth to dust; cast hay into the fire, it gives a blaze, and turns to smoake and ashes; cast it into water, it rots it presently; The Apostle tells us; *the day shall declare every mans work of what sort it is.* Tribulation is such a day; it *presseth* every godly man, and out comes their grace; it presseth the wicked, and out comes their wickednesse; as dunghils, the more they are raked, the more they stinke; whereas the godly, are as the spices, which bruised cast forth a sweeter savour: the Eagle tries her young ones by the Sun, God tries and differences godly from the wicked by afflictions; wicked men are as the *wood of the vine*, good for nothing but the fire; godly are such as are still on the mending hand.

Isa. 43.2.

1 Cor. 3.13.

Rom 5.3,4. θλίψεις.

Ezek. 15. *per totum.*

Reason 2. Secondly, This comes to passe from the different adjunct

adjunct or priviledge, godly wise men, have every thing (and so afflictions) sanctified to them, wicked men have every thing accursed to them. The *Prophesie* here, you see, is by way of promise to the one, *they shall be purified*, &c. by way of judgement to the other, *the wicked shall doe wickedly*. The charter of the Christian is large, *All things*, even *death* it selfe, *is yours, and you are Christs*: godly men have as cursed hearts as any wicked men; but being in Christ they are sanctified, and have grace to be improved and bettered; therefore all runs passive; *purified, made white, tried*: and the Prophet *Malachy* tells you how; *He* (that is to say, the Angel of the Covenant, Christ) *shall sit a refiner and purifier*, &c. to compose the fire (for though sinne merit trouble, man or Devill be instruments of the trouble, yet God is the chiefe agent) and to order it for the good of the mettall he casts into the fire, to encrease the flame one while, when they are not purified, and to quench it another while, when they are: but afflictions are not so to wicked men; Christ is a *swift witnesse against them*; they are given up, and being so, must needs doe wickedly.

From different adjunct or priviledge.

1 Cor. 3. 21, 22.

Mal. 3. 3.

Lev. 26. 14, to 40.

Mal. 3. 5.

Thirdly, This comes to passe from the different cause; *None of the wicked understand, but the wise understand*. There is a three-fold wisedome and understanding of heavenly things, and they are distinguished by three words: The wisedome of the art, the best of all Philosophy, *the feare of the Lord, which is the beginning of wisedome*: The wisedome of the teacher, the Lord, *none teacheth like him*: And the wisedome of the scholler, who is *made wise to salvation*. Now wicked men have none of these, at least they

Reason 3. From different cause. Prov. 1. 2.

חכמה ומוסר ובינה

they have not them all, but the godly wise have: wicked men either have no light, they consult not with Gods word, and then how should they understand? Jer. 8. 9. *They have rejected the wisedome of the Lord, and what wisedome is in them?* or they have no understanding, no eyes opened, no grace infused, and so they judge amisse of things that differ, or their eyes are not well disposed, they have misguided judgements, something or other makes them mistake. Aske them concerning the warres in *Germany, Scotland, England*; *they call evill good, and good evill.* Thus you see the Reasons.

The doctrinall part finished.

Now remaines only the practicall part, having done with the Doctrinall, the point you see is proved, there rests the Application. And though this might be manifold, I will not trouble you with any more then three,

The use threefold.

It serveth therefore for { *Instruction.* *Exhortation.* *Consolation.*

Use 1. Instruction in three points. 1. Why godly are afflicted, wicked spared.

This may in the first place give satisfaction to three great scruples which trouble many.

First, It shewes the reason why godly persons are afflicted, and wicked prosper. Though it pleases God sometimes to blesse his people with peace, and to give them rest against their enemies round about them; yet for the most part in the ordinary way of his dispensations, *many are the troubles of the righteous*; and for the Psal. 73. 4. wicked, they are *active and strong, and no bands in their death*: When *Iacob* is tossed to and fro, *Esau* is at rest in mount *Seir*, encreased in riches and power: when *Saul* is on the throne, *David* is hunted as a partridge: when *Mordecai* is at the gate, *Haman* is in favour in the Court; and when the Courtiers are at the banquent

of

of wine, the Citie *Shushan* is perplexed: upon this crosse dispensation ariseth a dangerous temptation, which drives many backe, some sometimes to deny a Providence; not onely are Gods Children lyable to these temptations in consideration of the trouble of the Righteous, and prosperitie of the wicked, but when God is in a way of mercy, if there be any stay in the course of Justice, any delay of deliverance, they are ready to be troubled. Is God just? Is God mercifull? why stand things at a stay? Now my text resolves this scruple, 'Tis that the godly may *be purified, made white, tryed*, and it is againe, that *wicked men may doe wickedly*, and may fill up the measure of their sinne: this doe even those that stumble at this, at last resolve themselves; and certainly, when God hath accomplished his worke, it shall be otherwise.

That the one may be purified, and the other doe wickedly.

Pſal. 73. 17. Jer. 12. 3. Hab. 1. 13, 14.

Secondly, it shewes the reason why it is so troublesome a time now more than at other times. We were quiet, why are we now so distempered? It is because this is a time of Reformation: as the Lord told *Rebecah*, when she went to enquire of him concerning the struggling in her wombe, *Why am I thus?* He saith, *Two nations are in thy wombe: and two manner of people shall be separated from thy bowels*, &c. God is now about to purge his floore, and never was there a time of Reformation which differenced good and bad, but it was a time of trouble: when the Jewes came out of *Egypt* into *Canaan*, the five Bookes of *Moses* tell you their troubles: when out of captivity, ere they got up their City and Temple, *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* tell you what trouble: and when they shall come out of Judaisme, *ver.* 1. of this Chapt. tels you it shall be *a time of trou-*

2. Why this time more troublesome than former?

It is a Time of Reformation.

Gen. 25. 22, 23.

Such times have been alwayes troublesome.

ble such as never was since it was a nation to that time. When the Gentile Church came out of the *Heathen* persecutions, *Revel.* 12. tels you what troubles, and when they shall come out of the *Antichristian* persecution, the same book tels you of their severall sorts of troubles: whilst we made brick for our Prelates, and suffered the Egyptian taske-masters to lay on us all their burdens, *we did not resist unto bloud*, as now we doe since we have cast them off: and whilst Satan keepes possession *all things are at peace, but when the stronger then he comes to bind him, he rents and teares.* What working against Christs comming in the flesh, from *Abel* to the birth of Christ: what attempts against the Prophets, Apostles, and Ministers of Christ that offered and preached the Redemption wrought by Christ: and what resisting of the Holy Ghost comming to apply the grace so offered: therfore stand not amazed at our troubles now, Christ is about a great work of Reformation, and therefore there will be opposition, *Ierusalem* is to be built, both wals, and streets, *in troublous times.*

Luk. 11. 21, 22.

Matt. 23. 34, 35.

2 Cor. 10. 5, 6.

Dan. 9. 25.

3. Why the Lord forbeares so long to deliver?

Thirdly, it showes the reason why the Lord stands so farre off in trouble: this was alwayes a great affliction to the godly *in times of trouble*, not so much that they were troubled, as that the Lord stood *farre off from their cry, and from the voyce of their roaring.* We fast and pray, and yet we are not delivered; why is it thus? why? it is, because the godly need yet more purifying, and the wicked must yet doe more wickedly, for that they neither doe nor can understand. View each of these distinctly.

Psal. 10. 1. and 22. 1.

First,

First, it is, because *none of the wicked will understand*; they might else take notice of Gods avenging hand; every stroake proclaimes him a sin-revenging God, and of Gods protecting hand, the bush burneth, and is not consumed. Religion, Lawes, and Liberty, have as Candles under water, strangely been preserved. Their project was by oppression to keepe them downe, the oppressours now are oppressed; they would keepe off Parliaments, or breake them if they could not serve themselves of them; there is now a standing Parliament to plague them; they would bring in first Rebels to helpe them, and imploy bloudy Papists, now three Kingdomes are in one Covenant, and their ships are broken at *Ezion-Geber*, the Lord hath every where said to them; *Associate your selves, and ye shall be broken in pieces: and give eare, O ye of farre Countries: gird your selves, and ye shall be broken in pieces: gird your selves, and ye shall be broken in pieces; Take counsell together, and it shall come to nought: speake the word, and it shall not stand.* And he hath said to us, *Feare not their feare, nor be afraid; Sanctifie the Lord of hosts himselfe, and let him be your feare, and let him be your dread; and he shall be for a sanctuary*, &c. but the wicked will not understand any thing at all: three wayes is this expressed here, if we marke it strictly.

1. Because none of the wicked will yet be brought to understand.

2 Chron. 20. 36, 37.

Isai. 8, 9, 10.

ver. 12, 13.

That appeares in 3. things.

First, *they will doe wickedly*; that is to say, they will goe on in sinne securely, so elsewhere. *Let favour be shewed to the wicked, yet will he not learne righteousnesse: in the land of uprightnesse, will he deale unjustly, &c.* Salomon saith, *The prudent man seeth the evill, and hydeth himselfe; but the simple passeth on, and is punished*; so did the old world, so did *old* and new *Babylon*; *so shall it be also in the*

1. They will doe wickedly. Isai. 26. 10.

Prov. 22. 3. Luk. 17. 26. Isai. 47. 8. Rev. 18. 7.

the dayes of the Son of man. Wicked men are as ignorant and blind as those *Philistines*. *If he goe up the way of his own coast to Bethshemesh, then he hath done us this evill, but if not, then we shall know it was but some chance that happened to us.* They neither see the hand of God that smites them, nor their owne deserts that provokes the Lord thus to smite them. *Strangers devoure his strength, but he seeth it not, yea, gray haires are here and there upon him, but he knoweth it not,* as saith the Prophet.

1 Sam. 6. 9.

Isai. 26. 11.

Hos. 7. 9.

2. They will doe yet more wickedly.

Secondly, they will be more wicked for the trouble, this is not ordinary with all wicked men (some like *Ahab* will be humbled for the time) but with the wicked of our times, we are here foretold it will be so; and Saint *Iohn* in the *Revelation* speaking of *Antichristian* enemies, all along their going downe, tels us the same, that they will breake forth to further wickednesse, even to blasphemie against the Name of God, and looke at Reformation as rebellion. It was a brand upon *Ahaz*, that *when he was in distresse in every hand, yet in his distresse he did trespasse yet more against the Lord.* And a concomitant of their destruction in *Esay*, *They shall fret themselves, and curse their King, and their God.* And it is foretold concerning these last times, that, *Wicked men and seducers shall waxe worse and worse, deceiving, and being deceived*: and we see all this made good upon the men of this generation; the more God plagues them, the more they sinne.

Rev. 16. 9, 10, 11, 21.

2 Chro. 28. 22.

Isai. 8. 21.

2 Tim. 3. 13.

3. They will not repent. Rev. 16. 9, 11.

Thirdly, *They will not understand*; i. to repent, *and give glory to God*, to give him the glory of his Soveraignty, in whose hands all troubles are, to inflict, order and remove

move them; the glory of his truth and justice, to acknowledge the justice and truth of God by reason of their doings which have procured all these plagues to themselves, as the godly doe. *Thou art just in all that is brought upon us, for thou hast done right, but we have done wickedly*, they contrarily *keepe wickednesse sweet within their mouth*; and the glory of his mercy, that they are not consumed. Surely the sins before reformation, in reformation, since reformation, and now most of all that men hate to be further reformed, might make men tremble: but this is one of their plagues, that they cannot *see, they cannot repent*. This is now one reason why the Lord stands so far off, wicked men will doe wickedly, and not understand, and therefore more plagues must come, that they that will not see, may be made to see.

Nehem. 9. 33.

Job 20. 12, 13. Lam. 3. 28.

Isa. 26. 11. Rev. 16. 9, &c.

There is another reason, and that is, because godly wise men are not *so purified, made white and tried*, as they shall be; and indeed there is more cause to feare this than the other; God can soone take order with the wicked, were but his people as they should be; I will therefore abruptly breake off here the use of Instruction, and fall into the second use of Exhortation.

2. Because the godly are not yet sufficiently purified, &c.

This serves in the second place therefore for Exhortation, that you would be *purified, made white, tried*; let not our deliverance, and the deliverance of Gods Church, stay, and be deferred for want of this. And here (Right Honourable) *suffer the words of exhortation patiently*. I shall borrow the benefit of the * mornings preface to speake unto you plainely. We rejoyce in the authority we have from you, besides the encouragement to seeke the Lord by fasting and prayer, but you

Vse 2. Exhortation, Preface thereto.

Heb. 13. 22.

* M. *Rathband* Jer. 7. 3. his preface before his application.

Ezra 8.21. had need call the land to one fast more, to *Ezras, to seeke of God a right way*, to know why we are not delivered. Psal.65.2. *God* we are sure *is a God that heares prayer*, especially extraordinary prayer; but are we purified, made white, tryed? Josh.7.11,12. *Ioshuah* fasted, but the Lord told him that was not the thing, *Israel had sinned*, that must be done away ere God would helpe them.

Exhortation it selfe to three duties. It is not for me to charge any fault upon you the great assembly of the Gods; but give me leave to set the great God before you as your patterne, and thereby charge your selves, in his Name: only let me exhort you to these three things.

1 Be purified. First, *Be purified.* Me thinks the Lord calls upon you that are the repairers of our breaches, and restorers of pathes to dwell in, as sometimes to *Ierusalem*, Jer.13.27. *Will you not be made cleane? when shall it once be?* I am not able to charge impurity upon you, but God can, and your own consciences may helpe you to find it out: This only let me say unto you, that an ordinary purity will not serve your turnes (though it is wont to be said, a little holinesse goes for a great deale amongst our Nobles and Gentry) You are great men and wise; the Worthies of the Land think I pray you what a disgrace a *But* puts upon you, such a *But* I meane as was on *Naaman*, *Now* Naaman *Captaine of the hoste of the King of* Syria, *was a great man with his master, and honourable, because by him the Lord had given deliverance unto* Syria: *He was also a mighty man in valour, but he was a leper.* 2 King.5.1. As you stand for your selves and for us, so give us leave to beseech you to a double purity, one for your own sakes, another for ours; and because in this second consideration you move in a high

More than ordinary purity expected from Parliamentmen.

high spheare, I beseech you patterne your purity by his whom you represent: no lesse holinesse must you aime at, than to *be holy as he is holy*; me thinks if every second cause works so much more strongly as it is united to its first cause, then you that represent one Kingdome at the least, and are (as I said) the great assembly of Gods, should be so much more pure and holy as you are neerer to God than others both in name and office: You are engaged in an Honourable cause, and you have as Honourable a call thereunto, now as in both you would prosper, purifie your hearts, your hands, your houses, remember the Lord *will be sanctified in all those that draw neare him.* Lev. 10. 3.

Secondly, *Be made white* as well as pure. I cannot (againe) but the world doth, bespot your innocency: now doe you as the Lord: he cleares his righteous dealing before the Sun; doe not you let any spot lie upon your proceedings. I will instance only in three of yonr graces. 2. Be made white.

Be *made white in your Truth*, by executing your ordinances, that you may not only say but doe. In 1. Truth.

Be made *white againe in your Iustice*, upon delinquents, that what you seeke, when it is put into your hands we may see you execute; The very Heathens call'd *Iustice* the daughter of *Iupiter* married to him, and sitting close by his side, *&c.* 2. Justice.

Η δὲ τε παρθένος ἐστὶ Δίκη Διὸς ἀγχιστῆνα, Hesiod. Ἔργ. καὶ ἡμ. βιβλ. α.

and the Lord sayes, what a doe is here with fasting, *execute true judgement, &c.* else you fast not to him; looke into the prisons if this fasting day be not a feasting day, and if they mock not God with something else than religious fasting on their *Friday*. Zech. 7.

Be

3. Zeale, quit the land of Sacriledge.

Be *made white once more in your Zeale*, and sincerity to reforme the house of God by denying your selves and giving up thereto that which may make it glorious. It was a good observation of an Honourable Member of your society, upon *the Towers of Germany*, that their deliverance was not like to be yet, because in the catalogue of all their sinnes then made in a Sermon, the chiefe sinne was not named, *Sabbath-breaking*, whereof that Country was notoriously guilty.

Sir *R. H.*

Provide for the Ministery.

Truly, I am sorry that in so excellent an *Ordinance for Repentance*, *Sacriledge* is not mentioned, whereof this Land hath been too much guilty, unlesse by you it be purged from it, which we all expect.

You well heard in the morning, there is great necessity of speeding the businesse of Ordination, now before you, but let me adde thereto, that the ministery you shall ordaine, will be rendered very contemptible and vile before all the people, unlesse you take care they be not disabled for want of *Maintenance*, nor discouraged for want of *Authority*; the former they are in danger to be by *Impropriations*, the latter, by *Patrons*. I plead not for authority civill, but sacred, not Prelaticall, but pious and Ministeriall, that they may not be afraid to *tell the people their transgressions, and the house of Iacob their sins*.

1. Maintenance.
2. Authority, not civill, but sacred; not Prelaticall but Ministeriall.

3. Be tried.

Lastly, *Be tryed*; and be faithfull when you are tried; some you have had, more you may have; shrinke not, stand to it and you shall have the Crowne of life. The time prevents me, therefore I will conclude with a word of the third use, which is of Consolation.

Vse 3. Consolation, upon three grounds.

Be you thus faithfull, and three things may sustaine

your

your ſpirits againſt all diſcouragements.

First, You ſhall be ſure to prevaile; for looke upon *ver.* 1. It is not a *Timpany*, but a *Delivery* theſe times fore-tell, and what an Honour will it be to you, to be midwives to the birth of ſuch a child of reformation, as Heaven and earth ſhall cry *grace, grace* unto it? ſore troubles you have had, and may have; but *a woman in travell hath ſorrow becauſe her houre is come, but as ſoone as ſhe is delivered of the child, ſhee remembreth no more the anguiſh for joy that a man is borne into the world.* To encourage you hereto, conſider the wickedneſſe of the enemy (if you be purified) doth aſſure you, they ſhall not prevaile; *they make lies their refuge, and under falſhood hide themſelves*; you know what God ſaith he will doe with ſuch a people: They blaſpheme God which hath power over the plagues, and repent not to give him glory; therefore they lie under the vials of his wrath; you may write upon it, *they ſhall never proſper.*

1. Sure to prevaile.

Zech. 4. 7.

Joh. 16. 21.

For the enemies blaſpheme.

Iſa. 28. 14, to 20.

And none ever hardned himſelfe againſt God and proſpered. Job 9. 4.

Secondly, You may live to ſee this delivery, as he ſaith, *who ſhall live when God doth this?* that ſhall you I am confident, if the calculation be true, which hath been given of the time in the *verſe* next following my text; its not twice ſo long as you have ſitten already in Parliament, ere *Rome* be deſtroyed; and therefore could I be heard over all our *Militia*, I ſhould wiſh them not feare employment if theſe wars be ended, which many are too loath to finiſh ſoone enough, leaſt as *Demetrius* ſaid in another caſe, *their craft ſhould faile*: For this ended, a more noble warre, and more unanimous would be occaſioned, *to helpe the Lord againſt the mighty* in other Countries. God

2. You may live to ſee the day; for not long to it.

seemes to have confirm'd this Parliament for some such purpose, as if he would have you *immortall* till the worke be done.

3. If you die, your names shall be honoured, and your posterity blessed.

Lastly, (and so I conclude) if any of you die before you see this great salvation of the Lord, your posterity shall inherit the blessing; and for you, it is Honour enough that you expire in so great a cause; Heathens thought no greater Honour than to die for their Countrey; for you to lay downe your lives in being the *Angels* of God, as blessed *Luther*, famous Queene *Elizabeth*, renowned *King of Sweden* was in powring out the vials of Gods wrath on the throne and seate of the beast; you have Honour enough; they shall not need to come to *Westminster* to reade your *Epitaphs*, all the Churches of the world shall reade at distance the Epitaphs so truly and worthily preached to you by a renowned watchman, whose praise is in the Gospell. *These are* Scotlands *umpire*, Irelands *guard and revenge*, Englands *preservation*, the Churches *safety, and* Religions *glory*.

M. Obad. Sedgwick, before Parliament, May 15. 1642. on Ier. 4. 3.

FINIS.

An Appendix,

Giving light from Hiſtory ſacred and Eccleſiaſticall, to ſome paſſages of the *Sermon*, humbly preſented to his much honoured Patron Sir ROBERT HARLEY Knight of the Noble order of the Bath, and one of the Members of the Honourable Houſe of COMMONS.

SIR,

AS the Honourable Houſe of Commons *by your mouth commanded me both to preach, and print* this Sermon, *ſo I truſt you will patronize* this ſhort Appendix *which I am encouraged by good friends to affix hereto.*

The foure great Monarchies *are now almoſt come to an end; out of the* third *comes up* a little Horne, *conceived to be* Antiochus Epiphanes, *(as the circumſtances of the* eight Chapt. *ſhow) for it is of the* Goat, *which is call'd* a Leopard, *Chap.*7.6. *out of the* fourth *comes up another* little Horne, *conceived to be the* Turke *(as the circumſtances of the* ſeventh Chapt. *ſhow) for he riſeth among the* ten hornes *of the* fourth beaſt, *which is* the Romane; Otthoman *firſt aſſumed the title of* Sultan; *and about the yeare* 1300. *laid the foundation of the Turkiſh Kingdome, from thence reckon* a time, times, and an halfe *prophetically, dayes for yeares.* The time 100. times 200. halfe time 50. *in all* 350. *yeares, which added to* 1300. *expires* Anno 1650. Then ſhall the King of the North *(the Turke)* come againſt the King of the South *(the Saracen)* like a whirle-wind; Then tydings out of the Eaſt, ſhall trouble him: *and then,* from the taking away of the daily ſacrifice by *Titus Veſpaſian,* who *burnt both City and Temple,*

Dan 8.9. *Hugh Broughton.*

Dan.7.8.

*Hen. Iſaackſon. pag.*343.

M. *Brightman in* Dan.12.7.

Dan.11 40,44 M. *Mede* Apoſt. latter times, *pag.*111.

and the ſetting up of the abomination of deſolation by *Julian*, ſhall be 1290. dayes, *which added to* 360. the time of *Julians* reign, *makes alſo* 1650. *though* 3. *or* 4. *yeares difference there is amongſt Chronologers.*

Onuphr. 360. Iſaacſon. 367.

For confirmation whereof conſider two things, {1. *Chriſts Prophecie.* 2. *Its accompliſhment.*

1. Matth. 24. 2.

Our Saviour Chriſt, a little before his death, propheſied There ſhall not be left here, ſtone upon ſtone, which ſhall not be thrown downe. *His Diſciples aske him when this ſhall be?* Ver. 15. *He bids them that reade, conſider* when they ſhall ſee the abomination of deſolation ſpoken of by *Daniel* the Prophet ſtand in the Holy place. *Here is the Prophecie and the time when it ſhall be fulfilled.*

2. Ioſeph. Antiq. Tripart. Hiſt.

To find the accompliſhment now, Eccleſiaſticall ſtory muſt ſpeake. There I find Titus Veſpaſian *as before, burning both City and Temple, where alone it was lawfull to ſacrifice; but yet for all that there were ſtones upon ſtones left; I find alſo* Julian the Apoſtate *endeavouring to reſtore Judaiſme, by authorizing, encouraging and aſſiſting the* Jewes *to reedifie their Temple, and they taking up every ſtone of the old foundation over night, and intending to lay a new foundation the next day, but when they had fulfilled the Prophecie of Chriſt, they were diſperſed that very night, and never able to lay a new ſtone there, as they had intended. Ile give you out of* Greeke *and* Latine, *the teſtimony of foure very famous Hiſtorians, (viz.,)* Ruffinus, Socrates, Theodoret *and* Sozomen; *the two former mention the Prophecie of Chriſt, and* Cyril *of* Jeruſalem, *his obſervation upon it; the two latter imply the Prophecie, but ſay nothing of* Cyril, *all of them, though ſeverall Writers, in ſeverall places and times, agree in teſtimony.*

Ruffin Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. c. 37, 38, 39.

"*Firſt,* Ruffinus *tels, that* Julian *conveened the* Jewes, *and* "*asked them, why they doe not ſacrifice? they tell him, they* "*may not except it be in* Hieruſalem, *as their Law commands* "*them; He askes, why then they doe not build their Temple?* "*They tell him they are not able. He gives them authority,* "*encouragement and aſſiſtance. They thereupon fall about it* "*as if ſome Prophet had ſpoken to them. They prepare lime* "*and ſand, and all things elſe, and then* they take up the old foundation;

" foundation; *Which done, the next day, nothing was wanting,*
" *why they might not lay a new one, the old being removed.*
" *But when* Cyril *the Bishop of* Hierusalem *had diligently con-*
" *sidered what they had done, and what they were about to doe,*
" *he was confident either* out of those things which he had read
" concerning the times in the Prophecie of *Daniel*, or which
" our Lord had foretold in the Gospels, that by no meanes it
" could be that the *Jewes* should there lay a stone upon a stone,
" but that the saying of our Saviour should now be fulfilled.
" *Neither was his prediction vaine, For behold in that night*
" *which only staid them from beginning their new worke, an*
" *earthquake turn'd all down to the ground, and confirm'd the*
" *very truth of our Saviours words, and so being frighted,*
" *both* Jews *and* Gentiles *went away, and gave over their fool-*
" *lish beginnings.*

" *Then* Socrates *to the same purpose*; Julian *calls for the*
" Jews, *and demandeth of them the cause why they did not sa-*
" *crifice? After they had answered, it was not lawfull for them*
" *so to doe, but in* Ierusalem, *he commanded that in all hast*
" *their Temple should be built; accordingly all necessaries*
" *were provided, as timber, stone, brick, clay, lime, with other*
" *things requisite in building.* At that time *Cyril* Bishop of
" *Jerusalem* remembred the Prophecie of *Daniel* which Christ
" had fore-told in the holy Gospels, that the time was now
" come, when there should not be a stone of the Temple left
" upon another, but that the Prophecie of our Saviour should
" now take place and be fulfilled. *When the Bishop had thus*
" *said, accordingly it came to passe, for a great earthquake the*
" *night following, shooke the old foundation of the Temple, and*
" *so instead of raising it up, it was utterly overthrowne.*

Socrat. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c 17. Secund. Græc. c. 20.

" *In the third place,* Theodoret; *The Emperour having called*
" *the* Jews *together, asks them why they sacrifice not as they*
" *are commanded? They answer, their worship is confined to one*
" *place; This wicked enemy of God, commands their Temple to*
" *be reedified,* hoping foolishly, that he should thereby make
" our Lords Prophecie a lye, *but he contrary to his thought,*
" *hereby declared it much more to be a truth. All the* Jews
" *came together from all parts of the world, and contributed*
both

Theod. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 20.

" both paine and purse unto the building; and 'tis said they had
" made them spades, baskets and other tooles of silver, for that
" work; themselves cast down with their own hands the re-
" liques of the old Temple, thinking to build it new from the
" lowest foundation, &c. *But a mighty earthquake and other*
" *fearfull prodigies destroyed all their preparations, so that*
" *they fled*, &c.

Sozom Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 17 Secund. Graec. c. 20.

" *In the last place*, Sozomen, *though the Emperour hated*
" *the Christians, yet he carried himself curteously towards*
" *the* Jews, *because they were great enemies to the Chri-*
" *stians. Having call'd them together, and exhorted them to*
" *observe the Law of* Moses, *and they having answered him*
" *that their Temple being destroyed, might not worship*
" *in any other place; he supplied them out of the publique, with*
" *money to reedifie their Temple, that he might reduce them*
" *to their old sacrificing; They fall to the work with cheerful-*
" *nesse, and begun to* prepare the place *they were to work in*,
" and the Gentiles helped them, thinking to prove Christs
" words false, That their Temple should never be repaired, but
" instead thereof, every stone thereof destroyed. They tooke a-
" way the reliques of the old building, and the next day inten-
" ded to lay a new foundation, but were frustrated by an earth-
" quake, *&c.*

Rom. 3. 4.

By all these, you see every word of God is true, and every man a lyar: in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word shall stand: *here are foure in one book, all bearing witnesse to this Truth, that* as Christ had said, it came to passe, there was not left stone upon stone in the Temple; *From that time therefore is the full epoche of the abomination utterly made desolate*

These things I have annexed for others, not for you, who have diligently sought out the accompts: Accept only my first fruits; you have laid out much upon the Promises, and you shall receive much, the things which shall be accomplished make haste.

The unworthiest of all that serve you
in the Gospell of Christ
SIAM. GOWER.

MVSEVM BRITANNICVM

FINIS.

Die Mercurii, 31° Iulii, 1644.

ORdered by the Commons assembled in Parliament, That Sir *Robert Harley*, and Master *Hallowes*, doe from this House give thanks to Master *Gower*, for the great paines he tooke in the Sermon he preached this day, at the intreatie of this House, at St *Margarets Westminster*, it being the day of publike Humiliation, and to desire him to print his Sermon. And it is ordered that none shall presume to print his Sermon, but whom he shall authorize under his hand-writing.

H. Elsynge Cler. Parl. D. Com.

I doe authorize *Philemon Stephens* to print my Sermon, and no other, but with his consent.

Stanley Gower.